KARL MARX

A Biography

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A Biography

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Introduction

Karl Marx is indivisible. That is as true of the unity of the theory developed by him and Friedrich Engels, scientific socialism, as of the significance of Marx and his work in every corner of our planet and in the life of mankind. True, Marx was a son of the German people, and we, his heirs on German soil, are proud of that fact. But from the moment it came into existence, Marxism was—and remains—universal and international, and in more than one respect.

It is universal because Marx and Engels, in the creation of their theory, based themselves on the latest findings of international science, especially classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and the French teachings on the class struggle, socialism and communism ; and because they critically processed the most advanced ideas in these fields. It is

universal because Marx and Engels in their lifetime studied and generalized the experiences of the international working class, the experience of the workers of every individual country, with the greatest care. It is universal because it was the first to recognize that the revolutionary workers' movement in the developed countries and the national liberation movement in the colonies have common interests and a common enemy : the bourgeoisie. Finally, and above all, it is universal because Marx and Engels, in their discovery that the working class has the world-historical mission of overthrowing capitalism and constructing a socialist order, laid bare laws of development that are valid for all nations, for all countries, for all people.

The discovery of Marx and Engels that the working class is "the trailblazer of the new society" led quite naturally to the battle-cry : " Workers of the world, unite ! " The common interests and the common aims of the working class inevitably demand common action and international solidarity. That is why everyone who has recognized the world-historical mission of the working class is also a proletarian internationalist and fights consciously for the unity and the collaboration of the working people of all lands, as well as of their communist and workers' parties. That is the sum total of the lessons learned in 125 years of class struggle. That is one of the " secrets " of the world-wide success of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. That is also the basis of the unshakable unity that today brings together the international struggle of the working class against imperialist exploitation and oppression and the fraternal solidarity of the workers and progressive people of all lands with the Soviet Union and the world system of socialism. The triumphant advance of Marxism-Leninism in our century at the same time confirms the fact that proletarian internationalism has withstood the test of history and continues to do so daily.

Marx's activity was as universal and as international as his teachings. Whether as creator of the first internationally constituted party of the proletariat, or as leader of the First Inter-

national, or as theoretician of the international working class, or as the respected elder at the birth of the German, French and other national workers' parties, or in the tumult of the German revolution, or as emigrant in Paris, Brussels or London—his life was at all times bound with a thousand threads to the world-wide struggle against exploitation, oppression and war, and he always remained the trusted leader of the international workers' movement. He and his fellow-fighter, Friedrich Engels, established the permanently valid thesis that the working class needs proletarian internationalism the way one needs air to breathe, that the strength of each separate national workers' movement and party is also based on the unshakable unity and fraternal solidarity of the international workers' movement. Marx demonstrated in his own person the vital truth that proletarian internationalism and true, socialist patriotism are not antagonisms, but two sides of the same coin, that the struggle for socialism also includes the struggle for peace, and that every peace-fighter imbued with the spirit of humanism will find his best allies in the communists.

May this biography contribute to that concept, which is valid for all lands and continents, for all men of conscience, for everyone concerned with the future of mankind.

Heinrich Gemkow

Chapter I

1818–1843

Parental Home and School

Karl Marx was born on May 5, 1818, in Trier on the Moselle River. The city of his birth at that time had 12,000 inhabitants. It was the administrative centre of the Moselle district, poor in industry, primarily a city of government officials, merchants and craftsmen. Founded in the days of the Romans, Trier had for centuries been the seat of an archbishop who had also been the Elector. Goethe, when he visited the city at the end of the 18th century, wrote that " within, it is hemmed in, pressed together by the walls of churches, chapels, convents, colleges, the buildings of knights and friars ; from without, it is surrounded, yes, beleaguered by abbeys, charitable institutions, Carthusian monasteries."[1] But the French bourgeois revolution had also left its influences on Trier. These were so deep that

even reactionary Prussia, to which the Vienna Princes' Congress of 1815 had given the Rhineland, and also Trier, could no longer erase them.

The French revolutionary army, in the 1790's, had dispossessed all the princely and ecclesiastical feudal lords in the Rhine area. It had abolished serfdom, set aside all feudal burdens, and announced the equality of all—to be sure, only all *men*—before the law. The cities and the communities on the land had since then enjoyed relatively broad rights of self-administration. Instead of the obligation to join a guild, freedom of trade now ruled. Formally, there was even educational and press freedom. With the adoption of the French civil code, trial by jury and public court proceedings were introduced. These new bourgois relations had led to an upsurge of industry and trade. Thus, here in the Rhineland, Germany's first factories developed, and with them, two new classes : the industrial bourgeoisie and the modern industrial proletariat.

For the Prussian *Junkers* (squirearchy), who ruled the Berlin government and the king, the civil achievements of the Rhinelanders were a thorn in the flesh. They feared—and correctly—that the civil freedoms of the Rhine population could also be an object lesson in the other districts of Prussia. That would have endangered the class rule of the Prussian *Junkers*, and thereby weakened the position occupied by Prussia, along with Austria, in the German *Bund* organized in 1815—a loose association of 34 principalities and kingdoms and four Free Cities.

The Prussian king, however, in the face of the new social and economic relations which capitalism brought to the fore in the Rhine province, had his hands tied. While he reinforced the rule of the knout, the censor and the spirit of subjugation in the areas east of the Elbe and in Middle Germany, he was forced at first to follow a seemingly liberal policy with regard to his newly acquired western province. The Berlin government sent the Rhineland administrative and judiciary officials who were as educated and experienced as could be found. Apparently as a

result of this policy, Ludwig von Westphalen, later the paternal friend and father-in-law of Karl Marx, was also transferred to Trier in 1816 as a Prussian government councillor.

With its seemingly liberal measures, the Berlin government hoped to gain sympathy among the citizens along the Rhine and the Moselle. But it all too quickly returned to its blindly reactionary policy of Prussianization and treated the Rhinelanders as if they were inhabitants of a conquered province.

It was in this period of darkest reaction that Karl Marx was born. But he grew up in the economically and politically most progressive province of Prussia, and in a family imbued with the spirit of bourgeois enlightenment and humaneness.

His father, Heinrich Marx, after a difficult and deprived youth, had worked his way up to become a lawyer. He had changed from the Jewish to the Protestant faith. As a " Justizrat " (honorary title for a lawyer) and the elected head of the Trier lawyers' organization, he enjoyed great prestige among his fellow-citizens. Well-educated, a friend of classical literature and philosophy, he especially esteemed Lessing, and French representatives of the Enlightenment like Voltaire and Rousseau, as pioneering intellectual fighters for bourgeois humanism. His progressive philosophical views were combined with moderate conceptions of freedom in the political field. Thus he favoured a liberal constitution and parliamentary representation in Prussia, but hoped for their realization through the Prussian king. Revolutionary political ideas were certainly foreign to Heinrich Marx. At the same time he was a " suspicious element " in the eyes of the Prussian government because he had shown his respect for the French flag and had sung the Marseillaise at a " literary club gathering " in January 1834.

The Marx family knew no economic need. Heinrich Marx was able to guarantee his beloved wife Henrietta and their children a comfortable existence. That was not always easy, since Henrietta gave birth to four sons and five daughters between 1815 and 1826. Karl was the third child. The second was his sister

Sophie, two years older. The first child in the family, Moritz David, died in 1819.

Karl was thus the eldest son in the family. His parents loved him deeply, especially his father. Though the family grew quickly, Karl remained the favourite son, despite all the affectionate concern for all the eight children. His mother called him a *Glückskind*, a child of fortune, in whose hands everything turned out well. His father spoke of the wonderful natural gifts of his son and cherished the wish that Karl would follow in his footsteps, would become what he himself had wished to be in his youth : a great jurist and legal scholar, a widely respected advocate of reasonableness and humanity.

At the beginning of 1820 the Marx family moved from House Number 664 Brückengasse (now 10 Brückengasse), the house in which Karl had been born, to House Number 1070 Simeonstrasse (now 8 Simeonstrasse). In the circle of his brothers and sisters Karl had a cheerful and carefree childhood. High-spirited and full of fun, he frolicked with them in the garden, or drove them as his horses, in full gallop, down the nearby Markusberg. If he loved to play tricks on his sisters, or if he sometimes made them the butt of his high spirits, he also knew how to win and reconcile their hearts again by fascinating them with wonderful stories.

In 1830, Heinrich Marx sent his 12-year-old son Karl to the Trier Friedrich Wilhelm Gymnasium (approximately high school in the U.S.A. and grammar school in Britain—ed.). It was the year of the July revolution in France. For Karl Marx it was the beginning of a new stage in his life.

In 1815 the Trier Gymnasium had come under the jurisdiction of the Prussian Ministry of Culture, but the Berlin government had not been able to change the spirit of the school to that of the *Junkers* east of the Elbe. For that the school was indebted above all to its liberally oriented Director, Johann Hugo Wyttenbach, who understood how to cultivate the Enlightenment and Humanism in his institute. In addition, the

technical standard of the school was high, and many of its teachers were respected scientists.

Young Karl's fellow-pupils were sons of bourgeois and officials' families ; not a few, however, were also the sons of artisans and farmers who wanted to become priests or government officials. Karl was partly loved by his school comrades and partly feared ; " loved," as his daughter Eleanor later recounted on the basis of stories told by her parents and relatives, " because he was always ready for youthful pranks, and feared, because he wrote biting satirical verses and made his enemies look ridiculous."[2] He had closer ties, apparently, only with the slightly younger Edgar von Westphalen, who attended the Gymnasium at the same time and who remained bound in friendship with him till death.

This youthful friendship with Edgar von Westphalen was not accidental, since the families of the government councillor, Ludwig von Westphalen, and of Heinrich Marx had long been acquainted. Ludwig von Westphalen—in complete contradiction to most of his colleagues in his social position and profession—was a highly educated man imbued with liberal ideas. His paternal forefathers came from the German middle class, but his father had been raised to the aristocracy for outstanding military services. Despite his commoner's pride, he had concurred, in order to be able to marry the woman of his choice, the daughter of an aristocratic Scottish family.

The home of the von Westphalen family was in the Roemerstrasse (now Paulinstrasse), only a few minutes away from the Marx house. The children of both families had become friends at an early age. Karl's sister Sophie won the trust and friendship of Jenny von Westphalen, who was two years older, and a deep attachment developed also between Karl and Jenny. The boys and girls were often together for fun and play.

But the schoolboy Karl was drawn not only to Edgar and Jenny ; he was no less drawn to their father. Ludwig von Westphalen had come to love the precocious son of his neighbour, and

was in turn respected by Karl as a second father. The government councillor loved Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. He knew from memory whole sections of Shakespeare, in English as well as in German, and had a special liking for romanticism. Above all, he understood how to instil his enthusiasm for humanist literature in others, including young people. Nothing could be more natural for Karl, with his thirst for knowledge, than to receive the stimulation from his older friend that his school, and even in some respects his parental home, could not offer. But it was not only in literature that Jenny's father opened new worlds for the young Karl. The government councillor interested himself also in social questions, and Karl, as a boy whose way to school led through the market place area inhabited by poor peasants, who saw the hunger in the city's poor district in his wanderings, listened carefully when his mentor deplored the distress in which many Trier fellow-citizens had to live. Marx was to remember, decades later, that it was in the Westphalen home that he first heard the ideas of the French utopian socialist, Saint-Simon.

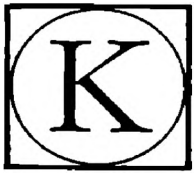
No matter how interesting, however, his talks with his father about the humanist world of ideas of a Voltaire, a Lessing or a Goethe, and no matter how exciting the sorties with von Westphalen into the realm of romanticism, school was now the main concern of the young Karl. Here it was necessary to prove oneself. Marx as a schoolboy had the talent of comprehending things easily and reached the senior grade without difficulty and with good marks. He graduated in September 1837, when only 17 years old. In its remarks on his school-leaving examinations, the Royal Examination Commission said : " He is gifted and showed a very commendable industry in old languages, in German and in history, a commendable industry in mathematics, and only a limited industry in French." The Commission graduated him " with the hope that he will fulfil the favourable expectations which his gifts justify."[3]

Among his written papers the German essay was the most

outstanding. The theme of the essay was : " Thoughts of a young man in the choice of a profession." The young Marx condemned the choice of a profession based only on self-interest or material considerations. " History," he wrote, " names those as the greatest men who, by working in the general interest, improved themselves ; experience shows those to be the most fortunate who have brought happiness to most people."[4] To serve mankind and to make the world humane—that was how the 17-year-old saw duty and happiness in life.

These were thoughts which his teacher Wyttenbach had often discussed with his students. But the maturing Marx recognized also that the choice of a profession was not only dependent on the efforts of the individual : " We cannot always achieve the position to which we believe ourselves called ; our relations in society have to a certain degree already begun before we ourselves are in a position to determine them."[5] This thought reveals that the gymnasium graduate was already becoming conscious of the significance of social relations in human beings. Thus he closed his essay with the following words : " If we have chosen a work in which we can accomplish the most for mankind, then no burdens can bow us, because they are only sacrifices for everyone ; then we enjoy no poor, limited, egoistic joy, for our happiness belongs to millions, our deeds live on, working eternally, and our ashes are watered by the hot tears of noble human beings."[6]

A Student in Bonn



arl Marx left Trier in mid-October 1835 and travalled by boat down the Moselle and the Rhine to Bonn. There, in accordance with his father's wish, he was to study law.

Life in Bonn—the city was hardly larger than Trier—was completely dominated by the university and its approximately 700 students. The university made Bonn the intellectual centre of the Prussian Rhine province, but the same dark shadows then lay over the intellectual life in Bonn as over the whole of Germany.

At the beginning of the 1830's, the Paris July revolution let the German people breathe freely and gave them hope for an end to feudal domination. But these dreams soon had to be buried. Armed uprisings did indeed take place in the Kingdom

of Saxony, in the Grand Duchy of Hesse, in the Duchy of Braunschweig and elsewhere, with artisan apprentices and petty-bourgeois elements participating, as well as peasants and students. The progressive citizenry, in many mass meetings, especially the one on May 27 at Schloss Hambach in the Palatinate, also demanded "a free German fatherland". But the movement was fragmented and remained without a vigorous central leadership. The answer of the feudal princes and the governments in Germany, by contrast, was united and emphatic. Reaction again began to hunt down everyone who aspired to progress and freedom. Thousands of upright democrats were jailed or driven out of the province. The censorship was drastically sharpened, every popular assembly was forbidden, and the wearing of the black-red-gold insignia—the symbol for a democratic republic—was made a punishable offence. The German states were made responsible for the handing over of all political refugees. The number of newspapers was cut down, and all political associations were banned. The progressive students—the *Burschenschafter*—who entered the fray for the national reformation and the national unity of Germany, were pursued, mistreated and thrown into prison.

When Marx arrived in Bonn, the persecutions and the police spying were going on unabated. The student *Burschenschaften* were replaced by politically harmless associations, the so-called *Landsmannschaften*, organized in accordance with the place of origin of the students. Marx joined his *Landsleute*. In the following semester they elected him to the executive of the Trier *Landsmannschaft*, the *Treviraner*.

Marx threw himself into his studies with energy. He wanted to take on nine lecture courses, mostly concerned with legal matters, but including also the history of literature, art and culture. This caused his father to write him : "Nine courses of lectures strike me as rather a lot, and I would not wish that you undertake more than the flesh and the spirit can bear. If you nevertheless experience no difficulty, then may it

go well. The field of knowledge is infinite and the time is short."[7]

Marx experienced no difficulties. But he soon perceived that most of the lectures did not satisfy him. He cut down the number of lectures he attended, and began to study on his own, in accordance with a personal plan that became his basic method of study later in Berlin.

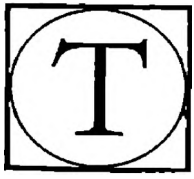
It is clear from his father's letters that the young student was no dry careerist. Life in Bonn was colourful and romantic enough to intrigue and draw him on. The student carryings on were at times " liquid " and always merry. The sons of the Moselle were no abstainers, Marx included. Thus he was punished by the university authorities in June 1836 with a day of detention for nocturnal disturbance of the peace and intoxication. The punishment was not stringent, however, since he was allowed visits from his fellow-students. This in turn created the grounds for still further detention.

But the student life was not confined only to drink and a passion for singing. Nor did all the bourgeois students cringe before the chicanery of the police and the arrogance of their aristocratic fellows. At times their civic pride erupted, and they answered the vulgarities and sneers of the *Junkers'* sons with their fists or with swords.

The young Marx belonged to those who reacted in this way. Not only did he join an association of young poets, behind whose literary interests, it is certain, political aims were also hidden ; in August 1836 he also fought a duel, apparently with an offspring of the titled caste.

The father viewed this development with great concern, and before the end of the first year he informed the Bonn University that Karl would continue his studies in Berlin.

The Winning of an Unusual Girl



hough the budding student in 1835 had looked forward with eager curiosity to the new and independent life in Bonn, not far from his hometown, the period before his departure for Berlin was different. This time he found taking leave of Trier difficult, for now he had to leave behind, for a longer time, someone whose whole-hearted love he had won.

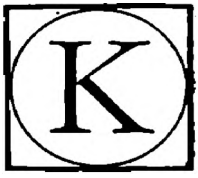
Out of the friendship and understanding between Karl Marx and Jenny von Westphalen a deep mutual love had developed. Jenny had not only unusual beauty, but also an unusual spirit and character. In the late summer weeks of 1836, which the 18-year-old Karl spent in his parents' home, he wooed her and she became his fiancée in secret.

That was unprecedented for the then prevailing conventions.

The young aristocratic Jenny, the "Ball Queen", who was recognized as the most beautiful girl in Trier, celebrated and very much sought after, certain of a brilliant marriage, gave her hand to a lawyer's son, in defiance of all the customs of feudal and bourgeois society, without the knowledge of their parents, and without the slightest notion of what the future at his side would bring. Karl and Jenny—despite their happiness—were aware of the unusual nature of their agreement. But for the time being Karl could hardly think of asking government councillor von Westphalen for Jenny's hand. Only Karl's father was initiated into the secret. They trusted him to prepare the ground with Jenny's parents for a successful regulation of the matter later.

Heinrich Marx undertook the task when he convinced himself of the depth and earnestness of their love and Jenny's strength of character. But when the agreement of Jenny's parents removed their last fears, the lovers still had to endure seven long years of separation, of faithful waiting for one another. This was difficult enough ; added to this, however, Jenny's half-brother, Ferdinand von Westphalen, a conceited carcerist who eventually worked his way up to the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, often made a hell of her life.

Grappling with "Contemporary Philosophy"



Karl Marx set out for Berlin in October 1836. He was five days underway in a mailcoach. There was as yet no railway connection, but travelling was already simpler than a few years earlier. There were hardly any more of the custom control posts which had previously robbed travellers of time and rest, and lightened their purses. The German customs union, set up in 1834 under Prussia's leadership, had set aside the customs barriers between many German states. Numerous customs houses still stood as a reminder that the fragmentation of Germany had not yet been overcome. Without a unified system of roads, without a unified economic territory, industry in Germany could not freely develop and spread. The bourgeoisie, however, wanted to build new factories, to procure raw materials and

workers, to sell their goods in order to raise their profits, unhindered by borders *within* Germany. It therefore combatted the splintered state of Germany and feudal prerogatives. It needed a unified national market ; it sought the unity of Germany in its class interest.

Marx came to Berlin with the firm determination to study industriously. There was a completely different atmosphere here. Where Bonn was a small city, Berlin was a metropolis with more than 300,000 inhabitants. Where there were 700 students in Bonn, the number in Berlin was three times as large. In Bonn, the university determined the appearance and life of the city ; in Berlin, the royal court and the Prussian military. In Bonn, hardly a student stayed away from the daily carousels ; in Berlin, one could inconspicuously remain distant from the goings-on and study intensively. " Other universities are truly taverns in contrast to the house of work here "[8]—that was the opinion of the philosopher, Ludwig Feuerbach, about the Berlin university. Berlin also lacked the *Landsmannschaften* and similar student connections ; the king had not allowed them.

The Prussian capital was also different from the city on the Rhine in terms of economics. In Berlin, though handwork and small-scale production still were the rule, nevertheless capitalist industry was beginning to appear, mostly outside the gates of the city. In only a few decades it transformed the character of the city as royal residence and metropolis of the *Junkers* from the ground up. Alongside the new capitalist wealth there quickly appeared a new, frightening poverty ; alongside the new industrial bourgeoisie, the new class of proletarians, who in France and England had already come forward independently, and who would organize themselves soon in Germany also.

But at that moment feudal reaction still ruled. It was therefore necessary, as a first step, to free Germany from its feudal chains.

The necessary bourgeois transformation took place in Germany in very complicated circumstances. In contrast to England

and France, which had long been unified and centralized states, and therefore also possessed a national market, capitalist production in Germany could only advance at an unusually slow pace. That was due primarily to the territorial division of Germany, which had as a result the fact that the German bourgeoisie, in its political outlook, so-called Liberalism, was disunited and inconsistent in its political activity. But though the German bourgeoisie, till the 1830's, was not mature and strong enough to defeat and destroy feudalism *politically*, it nevertheless prepared the ground *ideologically* for the bourgeois revolution. That was accomplished through classical German literature, and above all, through the classical philosophy of the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. The representatives of this literature and philosophy aimed the weapon of criticism, especially in the field of religion, at the same enemies against whom the bourgeoisie fought on the political field—the bigoted feudal class.

This "philosophical revolution" naturally came up against the most energetic resistance on the part of the spokesmen of feudalism. It was equally natural that the ideas and works of the most outstanding representatives of classical German philosophy—Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and Ludwig Feuerbach—not only mirrored the contradictions between the advancing capitalist society and the outdated feudal order, but also the political inconsistencies of the young German bourgeoisie. At the same time they pioneered the road to the bourgeois transformation of Germany.

When the young Marx came to Berlin, Kant and Fichte had long been dead, and Hegel also was no longer living. But their ideas, above all Hegelianism, dominated the German intellectuals. The centre of the intellectual conflicts was Berlin University, where Hegel had taught from 1818 to 1831, and where now, in the mid-30's, many of his pupils occupied professorial chairs.

Karl Marx was admitted to the Faculty of Law on October 22, 1836. He informed himself about the lectures and moved into a room near the University, at 61 Mittelstrasse. Dutifully, but uncomfortably, he paid calls on a number of his father's friends. Then he threw himself with all his energy into his studies. He signed on for three lecture courses : criminal law, the history of Roman law, and anthropology. From the very beginning he concentrated on working his way through, and independently evaluating, the technical literature and original sources. This working method served him so well that he found it possible to cut practically all of the lectures in the following year.

Soon his technical law studies gave way more and more to a preoccupation with philosophy. " I had to study jurisprudence, but felt the urge, above all, to wrestle with philosophy,"[9] he later wrote about this period. In fact, the student now began passionately to strive for a "Weltanschauung," a world outlook which could give him a foundation for his scientific work and for his political conceptions.

At first, however, as he wrote his father, he was too much hindered by the storm stirred up in his soul, by the suspense and anxiety of " love's intoxicated yearning,"[10] to dedicate himself wholly to his studies. Far from the Moselle Valley and his " wonderful Jenny," he confessed to his father, he " was overcome by a genuine restlessness."[11] He was not troubled by jealousy ; he had no doubts about Jenny's love. But the thought that he would have to remain separated from her for many years made his heart heavy.

And so it was that the 18-year-old Marx did what many young people in love do : he wrote poems in which he sought to express his feelings and moods. They show that he was then filled with the German folk song and knew the lyrics of Heinrich Heine and Adalbert von Chamisso. Most of his poems were about Jenny and his longing for her ; but not a few were designed to inform her about his intellectual aspirations and his need for action, as in the verses :

Therefore let us always dare,
Never stopping, never resting,
Never made so dull with care
That we've finished with protesting

Shall we brood and make a pact
To accept the yoke ?—No, never.
For to see, demand and act—
these remain with us for ever.[12]

Marx soon came to the conclusion that the literary merit of his poetical experiments was limited, that they were for him primarily a process of self-recognition. In poetry, he wrote his father, " one has the desire to create a memorial to what one has lived through, so that it should once again win the same place in one's sensibilities that it has lost in reality.[13] But it was not Marx's habit to lose himself in sentiments and dreams. He was filled with the urge to act ; he was lured on by deeds.

He " felt, above all, the urge to wrestle with philosophy."[14]

True *to his* promise *to his* father, Marx actually did study jurisprudence and by the end of the first semester had already worked his way through a mountain of technical literature, more, in fact, than the curriculum required. But this mastering of individual facts and texts did not satisfy him. Without philosophy, he confessed to his father, one could get nowhere. But which philosophy ?

In accordance with his education and upbringing he was at that point an Idealist, influenced especially by Kant and Fichte and the ideas of the French Enlightenment, of Voltaire and Rousseau. Accordingly, on the basis of his outlook, he now thought through all the fields of law, and bound them together, with great effort, into a system of philosophy of law, only to tear the structure apart again, because it did not stand up to the testing of his critical mind. That happened again and again, so that he repeatedly grappled anew with all the important problems of philosophy. In every case he started from the beginning

once more. In every case, too, he tested the road he had travelled, and the results, with merciless self-criticism. With increasing clarity he recognized the narrowness and unscientific nature of subjective Idealism, for which the world did not exist objectively, but only as a projection of one's own consciousness. Soon he began to realize, as he wrote his father : " On the contrary, in the concrete expression of the living world of thought, such as the law, the state, nature, the whole of philosophy, the object itself must be perceived in its development ; arbitrary aspects must not be introduced ; the logic of the thing itself must be found in its forward-moving contradictoriness and in its unity."[15]

These were already Hegelian thought processes. " From Idealism, wich I compared and nourished with Kantian and Fichtcian thought, by the way, I came to look for the Idea in the true self. If the Gods had previously lived above the earth, now they became its very centre."[16] This was the position he took in the only surviving letter of that year to his father, dated November 1837.

Though he had been in opposition to the Hegelian philosophy at first, now he became a pupil of Hegel. At the age of 19 the young student had already discovered the essence of the philosophy of the master : the dialectical method. " I bound myself ever more closely to the contemporary world philosophy,"[17] he reported to his father, and described his conversion to Hegel as a turning point in his life. An astonishing decision !—for this conversion in fact was to be the starting-point for the development of scientific communism.

Marx's preoccupation with the Hegelian philosophy had already been encouraged by his Berlin University teachers. It was his passionate grappling with problems of politics and a world outlook, however, that primarily led him to Hegel. Hegelianism met Marx halfway in his effort to bring his own philosophical views into line with the reality, the history and the contemporary life of mankind.

No one else in the history of human thought had attempted,

like Hegel, in such a thorough and deep-going manner, to demonstrate an inner connection and an inevitable development in history. True, Hegel operated as an Idealist and saw the basis of all occurrences in the development of ideas—or, as he called it, the " Absolute Idea." He considered the material world, by contrast, to be only a form of reflex of this Idea. But Hegel was an objective Idealist ; his premise was the existence of an " objective " spiritual origin of the world, independent of man's consciousness. According to his view, the spirit, the Idea, moved and drove history forward, in a never-ending process, from the lowest to the highest, gradually and by sudden leaps, from stage to stage. Historically outmoded interim stages of the Idea, and their working out in human history, lost their right to existence and fell away ; then a new, viable reality succeeded them, confirmed by the Idea as reasonable and therefore necessary. This process of constant development and transformation, called dialectics, finally found its expression and end, according to Hegel, in the stage where the Idea merges with consciousness, and as a result, also with the system in which the Idea becomes conscious of itself—which of course meant, with Hegel and with the period in which he lived.

Such an all-embracing philosophical undertaking, with the help of dialectics, to hunt down and to demonstrate the lines of development in all areas of human history, and especially of human thought, had a fascinating attraction, and was undoubtedly a great historical accomplishment. But the Hegelian philosophy was also rich in contradictions. It suffered in the first place from the contradiction between the dialectical method, consciously employed by Hegel, which recognized no pause and no absolute truth, and the arbitrarily announced end in the development of the Idea which Hegel foresaw in his system and with which he also justified the then Prussian state.

Hegel's philosophy was in its conception not only Idealistic, it was also conservative—and that, despite the fact that his dialectical method was revolutionary.

On the basis of its contradictions, Hegel's teaching gave the supporters of differing political and philosophical viewpoints the opportunity to claim it as support. Whoever put the main emphasis on Hegel's legitimation of the Prussian state as "the realization of the Absolute Idea" could remain conservative, and be reactionary in his political aims. Whoever, on the other hand, saw Hegel's dialectic as the main thing, could—yes, had to—take his place in opposition to feudal ideology, to religion and to contemporary political reality.

That is how it actually worked out. At the end of the 1830's the antagonisms between those who called themselves Hegel's disciples came into the open. Vehement controversies broke out between the so-called Old Hegelians, the dogmatic, reactionary wing, and the Young Hegelians, the revolutionary thinkers among Hegel's disciples and the heirs to his dialectic.

It was at this moment that Marx began to dig into Hegel's world of thought. Unquestionably, the young student who privately, and then publicly, aligned himself with the Young Hegelians, was able to liberate himself from subjective Idealism with precisely Hegel's dialectical method. It was not an easy road for Marx. His strenuous studies—he often sat at his books by candlelight till dawn—undermined his health. A doctor advised him to spend the summer in the country, if at all possible. In the spring of 1837 Marx moved to Stralow, outside of Berlin, and spent the whole summer there, apparently at 4 Alt-Stralau (now number 18), and not in his student quarters at 50 Alte Jacobstrasse, to which he had moved from Mittelstrasse.

The summer months of 1837, with daily hikes to Berlin and back, and promenades along the banks of the Spree river brought Marx recovery. "I didn't anticipate that I would develop there from a pale weakling to a physically solid and robust state,"[18] he wrote his father. But even in Stralow he continued to study intensively, developing the working method that he was to follow his entire life. He wrote out long extracts from every work that he read, annotating them with his thoughts and criti-

cal observations for the purpose of self-clarification. In this manner he made the knowledge of his time his own, profoundly but critically.

The literature that he went through was unusually rich and many-sided. It included the history of Roman jurisprudence and criminal law, original Latin works and church law, the history of philosophy and the philosophy of law, and of course creative literature also.

When Marx made the Hegelian philosophy, and especially its dialectic, his own, the same process had already taken place in a group of similarly minded individuals, many of whom soon played an important role in the Young Hegelian movement. " Through frequent gatherings with friends in Stralow I came into contact with a *Doktorklub*, which included some university lecturers and my closest Berlin friend, Dr. Rutenberg," he informed his father in November 1837. " Here, various conflicting viewpoints revealed themselves in our debates."[19]

This *Doktorklub* was not a tea party of church and government academicians but a gathering place for sharp-witted and argumentative young men who had written the Critique of Religion on their banner—an unprecedented and fatal sin ! Significant and militant works of the period were here conceived, discussed and criticized. This circle provided progressive newspapers and magazines with intellectual weapons. Many found encouragement in it for their work : Dr. Bruno Bauer, lecturer in theology, for his lectures ; Karl Friedrich Köppen, schoolteacher, for his historical researches ; Dr. Adolf Rutenberg, teacher, for his journalistic work—and the others, for their daily battles and their scientific studies. Here, in passionate debates, they developed their theoretical, philosophical, political and ideological viewpoints.

Karl Marx, the student, was now taken up by this club of Berlin Young Hegelians. He soon belonged to those members who generated the strongest intellectual influence, despite his youth (most members of the Club were more than ten years older and

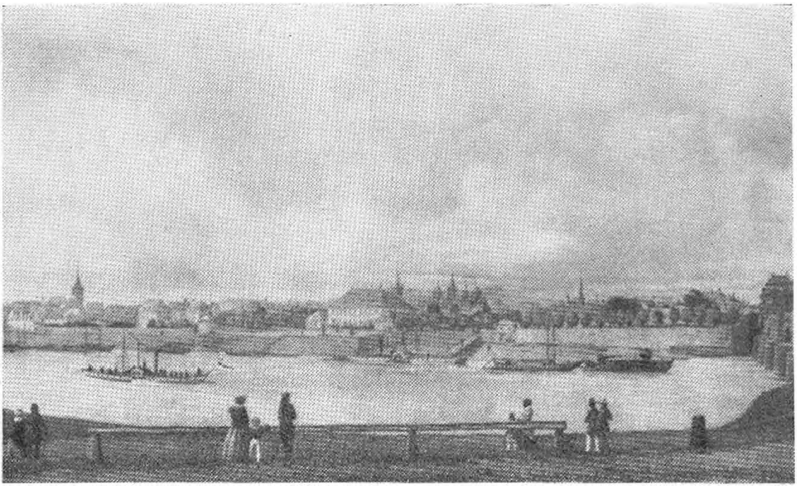
had long been graduates). Close friendship bound him with Bruno Bauer and Adolf Rutenberg. Bruno Bauer, who at the outset exercised a strong influence on the student who was his junior by nine years, soon saw in him a partner of equal rank, with whom he could consult on all problems of the times and even on personal matters. Friedrich Köppen equally felt a deep sympathy for his intellectually brilliant companion.

The members of the *Doktorklub* met either in the Café Stehely on the Gendarmenmarkt (today the Platz der Akademie) or in private quarters. Marx belonged to the Club till the end of his university career in 1841. Here, thanks to the Hegelian dialectic, the understanding of history as a process of constant change, of development rising from the lower to the higher, was laid bare to him.

Much though the young student could and did learn from his older friends, his thinking soon moved onto other paths. While his friends used the Hegelian dialectic primarily in the field of intellectual speculation in the first place, in the critique of religion—without concrete reference to reality, there grew in Marx the urge to apply philosophy to the real world. Marx in no way underestimated the significance of the critique of religion. He himself, several years later, wrote in praise of the *Doktorklub* : "The critique of religion is the prerequisite for all criticism . . ."[20] "The critique of religion is therefore the *germ* of the *critique of this Vale of Sorrows*, of which religion is the *halo*."[21]

The deep impression Marx made on this circle was indicated in a witty manner in a satirical verse which appeared after Marx's departure from Berlin. Its authors were the young Friedrich Engels, an artillery guard in 1841—42, still unknown to Marx personally, and Edgar Bauer, brother of Bruno Bauer. In memory of the high-spirited and fearless comrade, the poem said:

Who is it come so swiftly, as on wheels ?
A black-maned fellow from Trier, a monster.
He doesn't simply walk, but leaps forth on his heels,



Trier in 1842

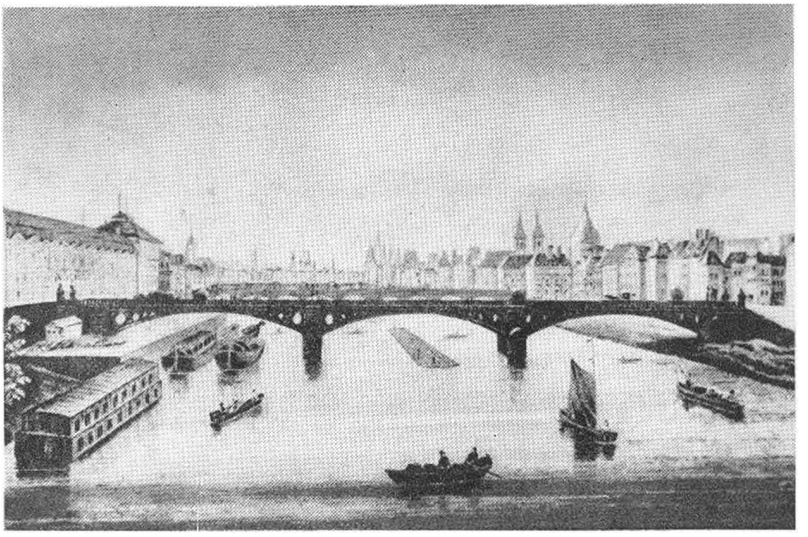
No. 10 Brückenstrasse in Trier, the house where Marx was born

Karl Marx as a student in Bonn in 1836

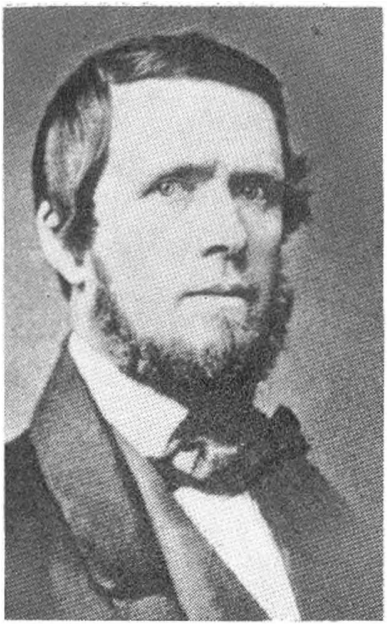
Jenny von Westphalen

Ludwig Feuerbach

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel



Paris around 1845



Wilhelm Weitling

Heinrich Heine

Jenny Marx in the mid-1840's

Tearing along, raving with anger, shouting,
throwing his arms out high for all he's worth
as if to pull the sky down here on earth.
He balls his fist and flails them, ranting,
as if the devil after him were panting.[22]

The friendship with Bruno Bauer and Rutenberg now resulted in Marx taking a more active part in Berlin's cultural life. He went to the theatre often. The interpretation of Mephisto in Goethe's *Faust* by the well-known actor, Karl Seydelmann, made a special impression on him. He visited regularly with the democratic writer, Bettina von Arnim, whose house on Unter den Linden was then a centre of Berlin's intellectual life.

At this time—he had now moved to a room at 17 Mohrenstrasse—there ripened in him the decision to prepare himself not for a legal but for an academic career, preferably as a professor of philosophy. His father in the end gave in to this urgent wish with heavy heart, out of love for his son, even though he could not shake loose the fear that Karl was too little concerned with protecting his livelihood. This apprehension bothered him all the more, since he felt his own strength waning.

Heinrich Marx died on May 10, 1838, only 61 years old, after a long illness. Karl Marx had felt a warm bond to his father, to whom he was always able to confide his cares and problems. To the end of his life he carried a photo of his father with him.

The death of his father worsened Karl's financial situation. His mother, on whom the care of the seven children now fell —the youngest son, Eduard, had died of tuberculosis in 1837— could not understand why her eldest son had dedicated himself to profitless philosophy. Karl Marx therefore made an effort to finish with his studies as quickly as possible. But his ruthless self-criticism, which was to remain characteristic of his entire scientific activity later, prevented him from terminating his studies prematurely.

At the beginning of 1839—he had been exempted from mili-

tary service because of "weakness in the chest" and, apparently, an eye ailment—Marx began his work on his doctoral dissertation. At this point he lived at 45a Luisenstrasse (now 60 Luisenstrasse). It is the only one of the seven houses in Berlin in which he had rooms during his student years which remains standing to this day. The house now has a memorial plaque on it.

As the theme for his dissertation, Marx chose "The Differences Between the Democritean and the Epicurean Natural Philosophy". With great thoroughness, he examined the teachings of the Greek philosophers, Democritus and Epicurus, who represented a materialist conception of the world. He especially defended the atheism of Epicurus, the great enlightener of antiquity and an open opponent of belief in a God. Marx's identification with atheism was indirectly a declaration of war against the "Christian" Prussian state and the feudal system.

At the same time, Marx began a critical evaluation in his work of the contemporary Hegelian philosophy—a project that he several years later set forth in his essay, "Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Law". Although he still expressed the Hegelian, and therefore Idealist, viewpoint in his dissertation, he was nevertheless no blind adherent of Hegel. Despite his high opinion of Hegel's Idealist-dialectical method, the Hegelian philosophy was for him not the end-stage of philosophical development, but a point of departure, a basis for its further development. He was drawn to those ideas of Hegel that brought science forward. He threw out what did not serve that aim.

Proudly, he identified himself in his introduction to his dissertation with Prometheus, who was for him a symbol—as the martyr of freedom, the enemy of the gods and the friend of mankind. In the spirit of Prometheus, he wanted to go to the people, in order to storm with them the bastions of backwardness, of oppression and stupidity. The defenders of the old, the outmoded and the reactionary, however, he likened to Hermes, the messenger of the gods, the lackey of Olympus, the Greek

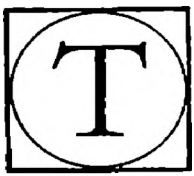
heaven. While most of the other Young Hegelians upheld liberal ideas, identifying themselves with the bourgeoisie and with bourgeois property, Marx had already come to a democratic outlook through his philosophical studies and first political experiences. He wanted to do battle, not for the class interests of the bourgeoisie, but for the interests of the entire people.

He finished his dissertation in the spring of 1841. He considered it to be beneath his dignity to defend it at the Berlin University, because the professional ideologists of reaction had in the meantime taken over there. Marx therefore submitted his doctorate to the Jena University. The examining professor had great praise for his work, which showed, he said, "just as much intellect and insight as learning."[23] On April 15, 1841, Marx received his doctorate without further examination.

When Marx returned to Trier from Berlin in mid-April, the best wishes of his comrades-in-arms of the *Doktorklub* accompanied him. They anticipated great things from him and strengthened him in his intention of seeking a lecturer's post in Bonn. One of the Young Hegelians, the publicist Moses Hess, enthusiastically wrote a friend in the summer of 1841 : "You can prepare yourself to make the acquaintance of the greatest, perhaps the *only* now living *true philosopher*, who soon, wherever he may appear (in print or on the lecture platform), will draw the eyes of Germany upon himself. Dr. Marx—that is the name of my idol—is still a very young man (perhaps 24 years old at the most) who will deliver the last blow to the religion and politics of the Middle Ages. He combines the sharpest wit with the deepest philosophical earnestness. Think of Rousseau, Voltaire, Holbach, Lessing, Heine and Hegel united in one person ; I say *united*, not thrown together—and there you have Dr. Marx."[24]

History has given complete approval to the author of these lines. Only on one point was he wrong : nothing came of the lecturer's post in Bonn.

Editor-in-Chief at 24



he young Doctor of Philosophy was hardly back in Trier when he hastened with all the pride of a loving youth to the Römerstrasse, to the Westphalen home, which "sheltered his finest treasure,"[25] as the mature Marx would write his wife 20 years later. He did not come with empty hands to his bride's house. He had dedicated his dissertation to her father; now he brought it personally to his "dear fatherly friend."[26]

After the long years of separation, Jenny von Westphalen and Marx wanted to be united at last. But a doctoral thesis alone was not yet a livelihood, and the possibilities for a secure career had worsened drastically in the recent period.

Friedrich Wilhelm IV had come to the throne in Prussia in

1840. The Prussian bourgeoisie thereupon recapitulated its demands. In order to guarantee its capitalist interests, it sought a decisive share of political power, especially in the administration of the state and in law-making. When the king rejected these demands, the economically leading section of the industrialists —the bankers and the merchants, with the Rhinelanders in the forefront—went over to the liberal opposition and put itself at the head of the popular movement. As a result, there was a decisive change in the struggles between the bourgeoisie and the feudal class. A new wave of anti-feudal opposition developed. The more the mass of the people were stirred into action and strengthened the bourgeoisie's aspirations, in the following years, the deeper the crisis into which the system of feudalism in Germany sank. The climax was the revolution of 1848—49.

On the threshold of these stormy decades, however, the feudal forces—and especially the Prussian government—were confident of their power, and concentrated on doing everything to crush the ever-rising liberal and democratic opposition. Just as in politics, so the feudal reaction struck out ruthlessly in the field of ideology. Progressive newspapers were banned, and the censorship sharpened in general. The government also began to hound the Young Hegelians, of whom the most consistent openly opposed the Prussian state, from the universities and editorial offices.

In these circumstances, Marx saw his immediate plans, especially the idea of a lecturer's post at Bonn University, put in question. Thus Karl and Jenny were again forced to wait for one another.

In July 1841 Marx journeyed to Bonn to see Bruno Bauer, who worked as a lecturer at the university there. Marx still cherished the hope that, from the lecture platform, he could launch himself into the controversies with the obscurantists. But soon he had to witness how his friend, at the instigation of the Berlin government and the professors obedient to it, was driven from the University. Marx gave up all thoughts of getting

into the University. Not even the pretence of academic freedom now remained in Prussia.

Through the struggles between the growing anti-feudal movement and the reactionary Prussian state, Marx was thus more and more driven towards what had become the most important field of battle between reaction and progress : that of the political publicist. At first he worked with Bruno Bauer on several critiques of religion, reading and condensing a whole series of historical works on art and religion for the purpose. But his experiences taught him increasingly that criticism of the Prussian state in the field of philosophy was not enough. It was the duty of philosophers to take part directly and immediately in the political struggle. When the opportunity to do so presented itself, he seized it with energy and determination.

At the beginning of 1842, the Prussian king had issued a regulation on censorship that seemed to make the muzzling of the press milder. While ardent joy reigned among some supposed liberals, and especially among the Philistines, over this act of royal "mercy," Marx analyzed the true content of this government decree in an article, "Remarks on the Newest Prussian Censorship Regulation." With ruthless logic and cutting sarcasm he showed that the seeming easing of the censorship was in fact designed to sharpen what was already a most arbitrary form of suppression, and exposed the king's order as a hideous deformity born out of fear, stupidity, arrogance and hypocrisy. He came to the conclusion that the reactionary censorship had to be completely thrown out, not eased or changed. "The only *genuine cure for the censorship* would be its *abolition*,"[27] he wrote.

With this article, Marx moved directly into the political struggle. For the first time, he took a public position against reaction. This first article already revealed him clearly as a revolutionary democrat who was concerned with changing the reactionary environment from the ground up, and not merely reforming it. He thus removed himself more and more from most of the other Young Hegelians, who tended to elevate

philosophical criticism to a goal in itself, rather than to combine it with the political struggle.

In his desire to attack the Prussian state politically as the main enemy of progress in Germany, Marx found experienced comrades-in-arms. Bruno Bauer, whose individualism hindered him from making the transition from liberalism to democracy, and from going to the people, was less one of these than the Young Hegelian, Arnold Ruge. Ruge, the onetime *Burschenschafter*, after spending six years in a Prussian prison had brought out the *Hallische Jahrbücher*, the Halle Yearbooks, as an organ of the Young Hegelians. Since he refused to bow before the Prussian censor, he had to move to Dresden in 1841. There he brought out his journal again under the new title, *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, and now attacked the Prussian state more critically than ever. Ruge's example had helped Marx take the step to direct political action, and Marx now sent him his first literary effort.

Marx's article against the censorship was to become a victim of that same censorship. But though Ruge could not publish it in Germany, he brought it out in a collection of essays in Switzerland in 1843. The book was banned in Prussia as soon as published. Nothing could more clearly show how perfectly on target Marx's analysis of the Prussian censorship had been.

Marx had signed the article, not with his own name but with the pseudonym, " From a Rhinelander." His aim was to underline the antagonism that then existed over basic problems between the bourgeois liberals and the democratic movement in the Rhineland, on the one hand, and the old Prussian *Junkers* on the other. The signature, " From a Rhinelander," was a challenge on behalf of the democrats to reaction east of the Elbe.

In 1842, Marx worked on other contributions to Ruge's *Deutsche Jahrbücher*. Most of these, however, remained unfinished. He was normally in Trier, but also spent some time in Cologne and Bonn. His energy in work and his need for action knew no boundaries and expressed themselves not only in numerous

literary plans, which took up much of his time, but also in his need for congenial company and merrymaking.

" M(arx) has now come here again," Bruno Bauer reported to his brother Edgar in April 1842. " The other day I drove out into the country with him to enjoy the fine scenery again. The trip was delightful. As always, we were in good spirits. In Godesberg, we rented a pair of donkeys and galloped like mad round the mountain and through the town. The Bonn socialites looked at us with more astonishment than ever. We exulted, the donkeys screamed."[28]

More important for his future development than his studies in philosophy and the history of art during those months were the following two factors : he came to know the philosophical views of Ludwig Feuerbach, and at the same time he was drawn ever deeper into the political movement of the Rhinelanders.

Among the books that Marx studied during his Bonn visits was one that he read with ardent interest : a newly published work of the south German philosopher, Ludwig Feuerbach : *The Essence of Christianity.* What fascinated Marx so in this work ? Here a philosopher had appeared who not only levelled sharp criticism at the religious ideology of the feudal class, and not only developed certain aspects of the Hegelian philosophy in a critical manner ; here every religion, as well as all of the Hegelian Idealism, was thrown overboard as incompatible with the real essence of the world and with the dignity of man.

Philosophical materialism was put forward to replace them. Neither the world nor man, Feuerbach declared, need a God or the " Absolute Idea." They are " necessary in themselves and through themselves,"[29] and are " sensual and material."[30] Man exists only thanks to nature and is a product of its development. Nature, being—that is primary and exists independently of man and his consciousness. There is nothing outside of nature and man, not even a God. Religion is a product of human beings. It was not God who created man, but man who created God after his own human image.

These conceptions of Feuerbach broke the spell of Hegelian Idealism. Feuerbach's materialist, atheist and humanist ideas had a literally sensational effect among Germany's progressive intellectuals. " One had to experience the liberating influence of this book oneself in order to be able to imagine it," Friedrich Engels wrote later in retrospect. " The enthusiasm was general. We were all suddenly *Feuerbachianer*."[31] Marx's critical insight, however, began to detect the weaknesses in Feuerbach's teaching also, especially Feuerbach's weakness in seeing man only as a biological, but not as a social being. This prevented Feuerbach from applying materialism to human society and its history. This understanding, however, was only gradually maturing in Marx himself. For the time being, the daily political battle made such heavy demands on him that his settling of accounts with the Feuerbach philosophy took second place.

The rising bourgeoisie in the Prussian Rhine province had founded the *Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe* (Rhine Newspaper for Politics, Trade and Commerce) in Cologne at the beginning of 1842. With the help of the newspaper, the bourgeoisie aimed at defending the economic and political interests of Rhineland's trade and commerce. The Prussian government did not trust this liberal organ, but had tolerated it out of tactical considerations, with the idea it could become a counterweight to the extreme Catholic *Kölnische Zeitung*, which orientated itself on Rome instead of Berlin.

Since a few of the Rhineland big bourgeoisie coquetted or even sympathized with the Young Hegelians, their leading representatives were asked to join in the launching of the paper and in its direction. Thus it came about that Marx also, from the autumn of 1841 onwards, helped promote the founding of the paper with advice and assistance, and in the spring of 1842 suggested his old friend Rutenberg to the publishers as chief editor. Along with Rutenberg, many other Young Hegelians became permanent collaborators of the paper, so that the purely economic problems of the Rhine big bourgeoisie were more and

more pushed into the background and political questions took the centre of the stage. It was thanks to Marx that the paper took this direction and in a very short time developed into the leading organ of the bourgeois opposition in Germany.

In April 1842—later than the other Young Hegelians, but all the more intensively—Marx began to write articles for the *Rheinische Zeitung*. As part of an ambitious plan, he wanted to subject the debates during the summer of 1841 in the Rhine province *Landtag* (parliament) to critical analysis in a number of articles. That was a bold stroke, since it could convincingly demonstrate to the readers, using the proceedings in the parliament of the most advanced Prussian province as an example, how frighteningly remote the development in Germany was from a modern bourgeois society.

Marx's first series dealt with the *Landtag's* debates on freedom of the press. It appeared in May 1842. In it, Marx examined in detail the motives of the groups represented in the Landtag —the aristocratic, the city and the rural landowners—in rejecting the introduction of a press law in place of the censorship, and in refusing to open sessions of the *Landtag* to the public. He came to the significant conclusion that the differences of opinion among the *Landtag* representatives, in respect to the bourgeois-democratic demands, arose out of their varying social interests ; on the other hand, however, over and above these differences they had a common interest, as landowners, in perpetuating the existing order with the least possible change. Marx made it clear that parliamentary deputies who represented the true interests of the people as little as the government had lost their right to office.

With vehemence, he championed the freedom of the press as one of the central demands of the liberal and democratic movement. Against those, however, who with their shopkeeper's mentality wanted to degrade the press to a business, he declared : " The writer, it is true, must earn a living to be able to exist and to write, but he should not have to exist and to write in

order to earn a living. . . . *The first freedom of the press is—to be free of commerce.* The writer who degrades the press to a material means deserves as a punishment for this inner slavery that outer slavery, the censorship ; or better still, his whole existence is already a punishment."[32]

This first series of articles immediately caused a sensation among the progressive bourgeois circles. With it, Marx made his debut as the representative of the left wing of the opposition movement. Friends and opponents awaited his next literary contributions with lively interest. Many of the succeeding articles, however, fell victim to the red pencil of the censor.

From the spring of 1842 on, Marx exerted an ever stronger influence on the editors of the paper through his articles, letters and verbal advice. His aim was to join philosophy ever more intimately to the political reality. He scorned abstract, pseudo-radical criticism. "True theory must be developed and made clear within the concrete circumstances and on the basis of the existing situation,"[33] he wrote in August to the publisher of the paper. These were important ideas on the road to the joining of theory with practice.

In mid-October, the shareholders of the paper made Marx editor. He immediately moved to Cologne, which was one of the largest German cities, with its 70,000 inhabitants, and a centre of the economic life of the Rhineland. Marx threw himself with fiery zest into the work—and into the battle with the censor. From the first moment on, he set the course for his small collective of editors with his knowledge, his political perspective and his energy, and became in fact the moving spirit of the paper. Only 24 years old, he thus stood at the head of the foremost organ of the progressive German bourgeoisie. There now began a new stage in his personal life and in the development of the paper.

His first undertakings already indicated how seriously he took his responsibility. The *Allgemeine Zeitung* in Augsburg, organ of the liberal big bourgeoisie, had attacked the *Rheinische Zei-*

tung as *Prussian Communists* because of certain statements of the latter on social problems. Marx answered the malicious denunciation with a sharp article in which he justified the right of existence of communist ideas, and declared their practical implementation at that time was, however, utopian. At the same time he honestly confessed that his knowledge of French socialism and communism—despite his acquaintance with various works of individual French socialists—was still inadequate. A problem of such importance, however, should not be criticized with shallow phraseology "but only after a long and thorough study."[34]

Marx also drew the necessary consequences. He assembled other works of well-known socialist theoreticians and studied them. The most significant of these socialists were the Frenchmen, Charles Fourier and Claude-Henri de Saint Simon, about whom he had heard from von Westphalen when still a schoolboy, and also the Englishman, Robert Owen.

These socialist thinkers, in their works, ruthlessly criticized the abuses and deformities of capitalist society, and drew up daring plans for a harmonious human order of the future, free from exploitation and oppression. But no matter how great their sympathy for the poverty and misery of the workers till then, no matter how faithfully they described the longing of the working people for a society rid of exploitation, their theories lacked an objective scientific basis. They appealed to the pity and understanding of the rulers and owners and did not recognize the power which the proletariat itself possessed. Thus their teachings were infused with a deep humanism, but remained fantasies, wishful dreams of an ideal human society.

Marx was not satisfied with the reading of socialist publications. He sought an exchange of opinions, and participated in a discussion on socialism that a group of Cologne intellectuals sponsored. In this round of discussions he made the acquaintance of the doctor, Karl Ludwig d'Ester, who was to become his comrade-in-arms a few years later in the Communist League.

As yet, Marx remained a revolutionary democrat. He was still dominated by the conception, in the Hegelian sense, that the solution of social questions depended on the transformation of the state, the aim of which had to be the reasonable organization of society. But this view began to recede as, step by step, he came to the conviction that the state had neither the reasonable character nor the decisive role in historical development that Hegel had attributed to it. Marx was also driven to these thoughts and new views by his preoccupation now with economic and social questions, as well as by his daily experiences with the Prussian state and its bureaucracy.

Marx wrote about a social question for the first time in the fall of 1842, when he continued his analysis of the *Landtag* proceedings with a series of articles on "The Debates about the Wood Thieves' Law." The *Landtag* had discussed a draft law directed against the stealing of wood, as well as hunting and pasture violations. These violations had increased as a result of the growing poverty of the peasants. The *Landtag*, an assembly of landowners, and therefore also owners of forests, had declared these violations to be punishable by imprisonment.

In his articles, Marx took up the role of lawyer for the poor. He indignantly denounced the brutal measures of the landowners against "the poor masses who were without political or social rights."[35] He identified himself wholeheartedly with the improverished classes, whose existence "till now has been *merely a habit* of society, and who have not yet found a suitable place in the conscious organization of the state."[36]

His criticism was still based on legal and moral grounds, but new tones began to enter it ever more frequently. They showed that Marx, in his investigations, more and more perceived the presence of class interests in bourgeois society and also the significance of the proletariat in that society. His analysis of the debates about the "wood-stealing law" had provided him with an example of "what one can expect from *a high-ranking as-*

sembly of special interests, if it is seriously entrusted with law-making."[37]

Marx himself later confirmed that these new conceptions strongly influenced his scientific development. Looking back, he wrote in 1859 : " In 1842—43, as editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, I found myself in the embarrassing position, for the first time, of having to join in discussions about so-called material interests. The proceedings in the Rhine *Landtag* about wood-stealing . . . provided the first opportunity for me to occupy myself with economic questions."[38]

At the beginning of 1843 social questions became his concern when, in a series of articles, he investigated the situation among the peasants of the Moselle district. The Moselle peasants, owners of tiny vineyards, found themselves in a terrible plight. When the *Rheinische Zeitung* took up their grievances, the Prussian President replied with arrogant " corrections " and accused the paper of slander. Marx reacted vigorously. After a further study of all the materials, which he also carried out on the spot in the Moselle valley, he proved, down to the last detail, that the government had undertaken nothing of consequence to help the Moselle peasants. He accused the Prussian bureaucracy of ruining the peasants without conscience. Instead of looking for ways of ameliorating the distress together with the free press, the bureaucracy had suppressed the legitimate complaints of the impoverished peasants and the criticism of the press with brutal violence—a clear picture " of the rulers' political spirit and their system."[39]

Through such journalistic projects Marx became familiar with many new problems of contemporary life. His deep-going investigation of economic questions helped him particularly to a better understanding of the economic and social relations in the life of society, and especially of the state.

In his articles about the Moselle peasants he came to remarkable conclusions : " In the investigation of *state* conditions one is too easily tempted to overlook *the objective nature of the*

situation and to explain everything on the basis of the *will* of the persons involved. There are, however, *situations* which determine the actions of private persons as well as of individual officials, and are as independent of them as breathing."[40] This meant, however—no matter how much the Hegelian terminology was retained—that the legal situation in the state could no longer be seen as grounded in the "Absolute Idea" or in reasonableness, but in the concrete social circumstances. It was characteristic of the humanist nature of Marx's ideas and actions that it was his passionate support of the interests of the popular masses that enabled him, step by step, to advance beyond Hegel's idealistically limited conception of the state and Feuerbach's metaphysically limited conception of man.

His work as chief editor was for Marx also extraordinarily useful in another direction. In the daily controversies, and on the basis of personal experiences, he developed a thorough knowledge and hatred of the *Junker*-Prussian state, its bureaucracy, and the latter's arrogance and brutality. Marx came up against the soul of Prussianism in various forms, of which the suppression of all free opinion was not the last.

Under Marx's guidance, the *Rheinische Zeitung* forged quickly ahead. Where the paper had 885 subscribers in October 1842, four weeks later it already had 1800, 8 weeks later again, 3,400. It was thanks to the firmness of the chief editor's democratic principles that the paper quickly won enthusiastic readers—and not only in the Rhineland.

Life forced Marx daily to take sides. He did so on behalf of social progress, the legitimate demands of the bourgeoisie for freedom of the press, for a constitution, for participation in the administration of the state and especially of the economy. But he took sides no less for the destitute working people, for their democratic rights, and their demands for amelioration of their social need. Thus Marx developed himself into a consistent revolutionary democrat, preparing himself for the first step away from bourgeois-democratic positions to Communism.

Marx's guiding hand was not only noticeable in the political articles and the reports. He also utilized the feuilletons to make skilful assaults on everything that stood in the way of democratic aspirations or that served social oppression. He especially promoted the work of George Herwegh, with whom he had become friendly in the autumn of 1842. Herwegh's poem, " The Party," had already appreared in the *Rheinische Zeitung* in the spring of 1842. Now, with Marx as chief editor, other poems followed. It was also the *Rheinische Zeitung* that, in September 1842, first carried the words of Herwegh that became famous in Germany :

> *Make room, gentlemen, for the beating wings of a free soul !*[41]

The democratic position of the paper and its growing influence alarmed reaction. Marx as chief editor had to do daily battle with the Prussian censor in Cologne. The intellectual level of this gentleman was illustrated when he struck a notice for Dante's *Divine Comedy* from the columns of the *Rheinische Zeitung* on the grounds that it was impermissible to mix comedy with divine things. Marx understood, however, how to put one over on this " protector of public order " with a limited intelligence.

The government soon saw itself forced to bring in another censor, and then a third—both from Berlin. In addition to the censor, the paper for a while had to be submitted daily, before publication, to the government president, for his approval. But this chicanery also failed to suppress the ever clearer and more decisively democratic direction of the paper.

Marx showed himself to be superior in this fatiguing minor war with Prussian bureaucracy. Friedrich Engels, who as a young merchant supported the paper with articles sent from Manchester, later described these daily skirmishes : " The *Rheinische Zeitung* almost always got through the articles which mattered ; the censor was first supplied with insignificant fodder

for him to strike out, until he either gave way of himself or was compelled to give way by the threat that then the paper would not appear the next day."[42]

A decade later, Marx was still chuckling over one of the tricks that he had played on the censor : " The proofs for the censor had to be brought to him in the evening, since the paper appeared in the morning. The censor's red pencil often forced more and extensive work on the printshop during the night.

" One evening, the censor, his wife and his marriageable daughters were invited to a big ball by the President. Before going, he still had to complete his work of censorship. But precisely on this evening the proofs didn't arrive at the usual time. The censor waited and waited ; he could not neglect his official duties, and yet had to appear at the president's ball, aside from the opportunities there for his marriageable daughters. It was almost ten o'clock ; the censor was now extremely nervous, and sent his wife and daughters to the ball, while he sent a servant to the printshop to fetch the proofs. The servant returned and reported : the printshop was closed. Now the despairing censor drove to the rather distant home of Marx. It was close to eleven o'clock.

> " After much ringing of the doorbell, Marx stuck his head out of a third floor window.
> " ' The proofs ! ' the censor shouted.
> " ' There aren't any,' Marx called down.
> " But ! !— '
> " ' We're not bringing the paper out tomorrow ! '
> " With that Marx shut the window."[43]

One month after Marx had become chief editor, the government demanded that the paper alter its direction and adopt a more moderate tone, or face suppression. Marx endeavoured to exploit all the legal loopholes, but declared firmly that he was only prepared to moderate the " form . . . to the extent permitted by the contents."[44]

It was not only necessary to defend the paper against reactionary Prussianism, however. Danger threatened also from within the ranks, from the Berlin Young Hegelians, to whom Bruno Bauer had returned. They wanted to turn the *Rheinische Zeitung* into a spokesman for their policy, which more and more reduced itself to pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering. But Marx, who in the meantime had far outgrown his one-time comrades-in-arms in the practical political struggle, decisively rejected this plan. He demanded of the Young Hegelians, who now loudly called themselves " free ", that they engage in " less vague argumentation, rolling phrases, complacency and show more precision, a deeper treatment of the concrete circumstances and greater expertness in their articles."[45] He was by no means ready to sacrifice the already very limited opportunities for progressive publicist activities to a barren left radicalism. Since the " free " elements were not the least bit concerned with a genuinely revolutionary struggle, the break with them was inevitable.

Regardless of the constantly sharper censoring of the paper, and the admonitions of the owners, Marx continued to pillory the anti-democratic policy of the Prussian state and its allies. In mid-January 1843 he made himself spokesman again for the suffering Moselle peasants and sharply criticized the inhuman policy of the Prussian state against these poorest of the poor. His articles descended on the government officials like the lash of a whip. To expose the Prussian state as the notorious enemy of the peasant masses—that struck the very nerve centre of *Junker*-feudal class domination. The government decided on January 21 to ban the *Rheinische Zeitung* as of March 31, 1843.

The attitude of the owners moved Marx to resign his post even sooner. The following notice appeared in the paper on March 18 : " The undersigned declares that, because of the *present censorship situation,* he has today withdrawn from the editorship of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. Cologne, March 17, 1843.

Dr. Marx."[46] And so ended an important stage in the development of the political and world outlook of the young Marx.

His work at the head of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, even though for only so short a period, had enriched him by way of two significant experiences. He had begun to recognize what a great role material interests play in human society, and he had seen that in the fight for the interests of the dispossessed masses, Idealism and bourgeois democracy were inadequate as philosophical and political weapons. That drove him to a fundamental examination of economic and social problems. At the same time, the Prussian state's brutality, moral rot and hatred of the people had revealed itself to him through his personal experiences. This had confirmed him in the belief that democracy and freedom could find no homeland in Germany as long as the *Junkers* and militarists held sway. He had also, moreover, learned for the first time that the wavering bourgeoisie—fearful of the "politically and socially dispossessed mass"[47]—drew back from an uncompromising struggle against the reactionary feudal regime. "It is bad," he wrote to Ruge, "to work in servitude even for freedom, and to fight with pin-pricks instead of with the sword. I am tired of our hypocrisy, stupidity, the crude authority and our cringing, scraping, back-bending and hair-splitting."[48] Looking forward into the future, he added: "I cannot begin again in Germany. One debases oneself here."[49]

Marx felt a need now for a place to live where he could freely and openly put forward his political and philosophical ideas. That was impossible in Germany, because feudal reaction drove the finest sons of the nation out of the country. Marx's hopes turned towards Paris, where he planned to publish a journal together with Ruge.

First, however, in mid-May 1843, he travelled to Dresden, where he discussed their joint literary plans with Ruge, and then on to Kreuznach. Here Jenny had moved with her mother after the death of her father in March 1842. Here she had received Karl several times on short visits. Apart from that she had only

been able to accompany him with her thoughts and her letters. " How splendidly, how triumphantly your image stands before me," she wrote him in one of her letters. " How my heart longs for your permanent presence, how it trembles for you in desire and delight, how anxiously it follows you wherever you go. I accompany you, and go on ahead, and follow after you. If only I could level and smooth and prepare the way for you, and clear away all obstacles in your path."[50]

Now at last, after seven long years in which Jenny had to endure painful clashes with some of her aristocratic relatives, the period of separation came to an end. Karl and Jenny could now be united. The wedding took place on June 19, 1843. Marx wrote ardently that he " loved profoundly, from head to foot."[51] For Karl, Jenny was to be everything : the beloved wife, the solicitous mother of his children, the trusted secretary and correspondent, the wise adviser, the ever dependable comrade-in-arms—a brilliant example of all those women who, since the beginning of the working class movement, have loyally stayed at the side of their husbands in the revolutionary struggle, courageous and optimistic, selfless and reliable, convinced of the final victory of socialism.

After the wedding, Karl and Jenny set out on a brief honeymoon trip. It took them over the Ebernburg to the Rheinpfalz and through Baden-Baden back to Kreuznach. They spent the first few months of their marriage at the home of Jenny's mother. Here, one day, a secret investigator of the civil service appeared on behalf of the Prussian government with a proposal for Marx : that he enter the service of the state ! Marx rejected this essay in bribery with contempt.

In Kreuznach, Marx devoted himself to the various preparations for the founding of the planned journal. He was concerned, in the first place, with the theoretical evaluation of all his experiences. The insights he had won in the political struggle during his work on the *Rheinische Zeitung* forced him to recognize as false or one-sided some of his earlier views, and to replace them

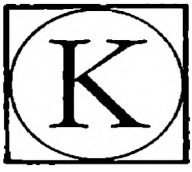
with new ones. That could not happen, however, without a settlement of accounts with Hegel's philosophical views, especially those concerning the state and the philosophy of law. For that purpose Marx pursued wide-ranging historical studies and read the works of Machiavelli, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Ranke and others, who had investigated the modern European state and its government forms.

Feuerbach had overlooked the necessity of such an undertaking and therefore remained stranded in Idealism in the socio-historical field. Marx, however, pushed on with his analysis precisely here, and came to the unalterable conclusion, while still in Kreuznach, that history was not determined by ideas, or by the Hegelian "world spirit," but that economic and social relations played a decisive role in the life of society. He published his new viewpoint a few months later, in Paris.

Chapter II

1843–1848

In Paris, Heart of the Revolution



Karl and Jenny Marx arrived in Paris from Kreuznach at the end of October 1843. There now began for both the life of privation and sacrifice of political emigrants who, out of love for their people, and on behalf of freedom, democracy and national dignity, accepted exile and poverty rather than acquiesce in the decay of their fatherland.

In a quarter on the left bank of the Seine, in the Rue Vanneau 38, Karl and Jenny moved into a modest flat. Arnold Ruge, who had arrived in Paris in early August, lived in the same building. Another German emigrant, the communist Hermann Mäurer, also lived here. He had long been active among the Paris workers and helped Marx establish contact with them.

Marx came to Paris well-equipped. " A storehouse of knowl-

edge,"[1] his Berlin friend Köppen called him. He was now impatient to implement the literary plans he had agreed on with Ruge. The new journal was to appear under the name of *German-French Yearbook*. It was to unite the most progressive publicists of Germany, as well as France. "*War* against the conditions in Germany ! "[2]—that was the slogan. The plan was to set forth the struggle against the ruling reaction in Germany that Marx had begun one year earlier in the *Rheinische Zeitung*. Life had taught him that the criticism of the anti-national feudal power, however, could only stir others and yield results if it became " part of the criticism of politics, of committal in politics, and therefore of the real struggle."[3] Only then could it actually influence the fate of the German nation. And what was that fate, according to the young Marx ? " That fate is the revolution that stands before us."[4]

With Ruge falling sick, the burden of the editorial work on the journal fell on Marx's shoulders alone. Apart from that, Marx had to prepare or finish the articles he himself meant to contribute. Further, the hoped-for collaboration of like-minded French colleagues did not materialize. Added to which Marx soon discovered that the police was regularly checking his mail.

But such difficulties and chicanery were not new for the former editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. They only doubled his energy. And how much easier it was to work here with his beloved wife at his side ! He could confide all his thoughts to her, could check the correctness and persuasiveness of his ideas in discussions with her. And how much easier it was to breathe, here in Paris, where one could attack the enemy with " open visor."

Paris was a great experience for Marx. Here in France he had entered a new world—the world in which capitalism ruled. Economically, feudalism had been steadily overcome since the latter part of the 18th century. It had suffered decisive political defeat during the bourgeois Revolution of 1789—94, which had transformed the balance of power from the ground up, not

only in France, but had influenced all Europe. Its victory—completed during the July revolution of 1830—ushered in the decline of feudalism on the whole European continent.

The French bourgeoisie—like the English earlier—had triumphed, and developed its economic power swiftly. Here too the foundation for the rise of capitalism was the industrial revolution, the transition to machines, to industrial production. This economic transformation, which was already completed in England by 1830, achieved its highest point in France in the first half of the 19th century, whereas in Germany it actually got under way only in the 1830's. Thus France was then a whole historical epoch ahead of Germany and all other European states—with the exception of England.

France was the motherland of political revolution from 1789 onwards. The revolutionaries, wherever they lived, turned their attention and their hopes on her. That made Paris the gathering place of democrats from many nations.

The new contradictions bound up with the industrial revolution and bourgeois society, however, revealed themselves also in France—and therefore also in Paris, the heart of France. The irreconcilable antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat had already become the basic aspect of the social movement in France, whereas in Germany it was still overlaid by the battle of the "third estate," the bourgeois class, against the feudal power. The capitalist exploitation of the French proletariat was relentless ; the social need among the workers, and the complete absence of rights, was unimaginable. The workers, their wives and their children had to labour 15 hours a day and more for a paltry wage, penned together in confined, dark, airless workshops. Thousands of workers' families lived in musty, damp cellars, worn out in the daily war against dirt, cold, dampness, hunger and sickness.

Such was the reality behind the ideal, "Liberty, equality, fraternity," for which the people had fought on the barricades in the bourgeois revolution. Only one freedom was left in this

society—the freedom of the proprietors to multiply their wealth without restraint and to exploit the working masses without conscience.

But the picture of the proletariat, this new class brought forth by capitalist industrialization, that Marx saw was not only one of submissiveness. The working masses did not resign themselves to a dark future. They craved and looked for a way to defeat their boundless distress, to shake off the yoke of oppression. The first proletarian uprisings in the French textile centre of Lyons, in 1831 and 1834, were drowned in blood. But Marx was able to establish for himself how the French workers began to collect their strength, and with a stubbornness that roused admiration, set out to find the road to freedom once more.

They rallied together in organizations which of necessity had to work in secret. Experience had taught them that the proletariat could only trust its own strength, and must not bank on the pity of the ruling class. These organizations therefore demanded that the workers should fight for political power with revolutionary methods. Yet they believed that they could achieve their goal, Communism, through putsch-like actions of a small vanguard, instead of winning the masses of the working people for their aims. These ideas, developed and put forward by the French proletariat itself, especially by the bold revolutionary, Louis-Auguste Blanqui, expressed a "worker-Communism." They represented a significantly higher stage in the development of socialist thought compared to the theories of a Fourier, Saint-Simon and Owen.

Marx was determined to inform himself more fully about the new world of modern capitalism, with all its progress and its contradictions, with its poverty and its hopeful germ of a better future. Although the new bourgeois-capitalist epoch had become firmly established at first only in England and France, there was no doubt that its penetration of all Europe was on the agenda. The young Marx studied these processes of world history, researched them with the dialectical method taken over

from Hegel, and thereby tested, in practice, the ideas of Hegel and Feuerbach, and above all, his own philosophical views.

"To join in *real* struggles"[5]—that was the goal set the *German-French Yearbook* by Marx. He himself did just that, with the aim of showing oppressed humanity "why it was really fighting."[6]

The first issue of the *German-French Yearbook* appeared as a double number in 1844. There were two articles from Marx's pen—"On the Jewish Question," and "An Introduction to a Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Law." In these articles Marx completed his critique of Hegelian philosophy by testing its theses on the basis of developing history and the contemporary conditions of modern bourgeois-capitalist society. His investigations resulted, as he later wrote in the famous foreword to his *Critique of Political Economy,* in the recognition "that legal relations, like state forms, cannot be understood in themselves alone or in the so-called general development of the human spirit, but are rooted, rather, in the material living conditions, whose totality Hegel . . . lumped together under the name, 'bourgeois society,' but whose anatomy in bourgeois society is to be found in political economy."[7]

With this discovery Marx had left Hegel's Idealism behind. He now took his stand publicly as a materialist. But his critical intellect was not satisfied with taking over Feuerbach's materialism intact. Much though he was fascinated by the uncompromising ideas of the philosopher, he had already earlier recognized that Feuerbach had applied materialism "too much to nature and too little to politics,"[8] meaning, to society. Marx now began to make up for this by showing in his articles, already conceived in Kreuznach, that it is "the material living conditions" and the struggles of antagonistic classes that force historical development forwards. To assist this forward movement of human society, progressive philosophy had to take on special tasks in economically and socially backward Germany. But the philosophical critique could only become effective if the critique

" in heaven " became a critique on " earth," and the critique of theology became a critique of politics ; in other words, if the critique associated itself with the needs of the masses, mirrored their interests, and was taken up by them. With irrefutable logic and with unusually forceful language Marx added :

" The weapon of criticism cannot be a substitute for the criticism of weapons. Material force must be overthrown by material force. Theory can become a material force only when it seizes the masses. Theory is capable of taking hold of the masses as soon as it proves itself *ad hominem*—through people—and it proves itself *ad hominem*, through the peoples, as soon as it becomes radical. To be radical is to take hold of a thing by its roots. The root in the case of human beings is the human being himself . . . The critique of religion ends with the teaching that *man is the most exalted creature for man*, and therefore with the *categorical imperative : to overthrow all existing relations* in which man is a demeaned, enslaved, forgotten and despised creature."[9]

But where was the power " *to overthrow existing relations* " ? This power, Marx wrote, could only be a class which is itself forced to do so " because of its *immediate* situation, because of *material* necessity, because of its *chains*."[10] This class could only be the proletariat. If the working class demanded the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, it was thereby only demanding nothing more than restitution for previous wrongs, and historical justice.

Just as Marx emphasized the significance of class struggle as the motive power of historical development, and thereby finally demolished the Idealist conception of history, so he also came to the view that the proletariat alone is called upon, and able, to destroy bourgeois society, the bourgeois state, and its economic foundation, private property, and thus carry through the social revolution.

With the publication of this viewpoint, Marx placed himself unequivocally on the side of the working class. That required

great strength of character, selflessness and revolutionary audacity. It also meant for Marx a complete break with his bourgeois past. Without this break with the capitalist class and its ideas, of course, it would never have been possible to discern the historical role of the working class in freeing all of mankind from exploitation and oppression.

While the proletariat then was viewed even by progressive, humanist thinkers as a suffering class, above all, as a symptom of a sickness in society, which had to be set aside or restricted—Marx, in contrast, set all his hopes on the swift growth and strengthening of the working class, on its alliance with philosophical criticism and science : " Just as philosophy finds its *material* weapon in the proletariat, so the proletariat finds its *intellectual* weapon in philosophy."[11]

Marx's articles, " Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Law " shows the end of his Young Hegelian period in philosophy and of his revolutionary-democratic period in politics. It marks the beginning of a new period in which Marx—now already a materialist and a communist—step by step developed the world outlook of the proletariat : scientific communism.

The *German-French Yearbook* had hardly left the presses when the frightened Prussian government swung into action against it. The king issued an order : the bringing in of the paper was to be prevented by all means ; Marx, Ruge, Heinrich Heine and other collaborators of the journal were to be immediately arrested if they set foot on Prussian soil. Booksellers were warned against selling the paper. Police hastily went sniffing through secondhand bookshops. All this was an unintentional tribute to the political role of the journal, but it naturally made its distribution more difficult. Hundreds of copies of the in any case small issue were confiscated by Prussian and Bavarian police spies.

To the financial difficulties that resulted there were soon also political and personal problems. Ruge did not agree with Marx's call to the masses and the working class. The bourgeois demo-

crat was not able to go along with the proletarian revolution. He was frightened by the implications of Marx's reasoning, withdrew from his financial commitments, and thus brought the project, so hopefully begun, to disaster.

Marx was practically destitute. He was convinced that the Yearbook could have made its way, despite all difficulties. But there was no possibility whatsoever of another issue after Ruge's desertion. Marx's main concern was for Jenny, who was pregnant. But the young couple was not alone : the Rhineland friends, the companions from the days of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, helped them out in their pressing need. In mid-March they sent one thousand Taler, and later, to pay for 100 confiscated copies of the Yearbook, another 800 francs. For the time being Marx was relieved of his greatest anxiety. He could breathe again and continue with the work begun with " A Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Law."

Marx's thesis of the historical role of the proletariat was a strikingly bold philosophical conclusion, but it still had to be proved in detail and expanded through fundamental scientific investigations. It was above all necessary to analyze the position of the proletariat in bourgeois society from all sides. That also required, as Marx saw, an investigation of " the anatomy of bourgeois society "[12], in short, of the capitalist economy and its development.

It was precisely on this question that Marx had received worthwhile suggestions from a collaborator of the *German-French Yearbook*, its youngest author : Friedrich Engels. In his article, " Outlines of A Critique of the National Economy," Engels had laid the foundation stone for a critique of bourgeois political economy. Engels' demonstration that all important phenomena in the bourgeois economic system arise inevitably from the rule of private ownership of the means of production, and that a society without poverty could only be a society without this private ownership—that fascinated Marx immensely. Here, through a critique of bourgeois political economy, another

thinker had come independently to the same conclusions as he had with his critique of philosophy. Marx felt the need to communicate with this like-minded friend at once, and immediately started an exchange of views by mail with Engels, who was working in England.

Marx was hardly—though involuntarily—finished with his editorial duties when he busied himself with new publicist plans. He wanted to investigate the development of bourgeois society in the classical example of France and to write a book about the French bourgeois revolution. For this purpose he studied a wide range of works by French bourgeois philosophers and historians. He found that the most discerning of these had already recognized and described the historical significance of classes and their struggles. These confirmed his own conceptions. But which factors, what reasons determined the rise of classes, advanced or hampered their development, and led finally to their abolition again ? What forces influenced the class struggle, and towards what goal did it steer ? The French historians could give him no answers to these questions.

Marx searched further. He buried himself in economics, studied the works of Adam Smith and David Ricardo, the two most important English bourgois economists. As was his custom, he accepted nothing on trust. He checked every one of their theses with scientific rigour and compared them with all the available literature about the latest economic developments in England and France.

Thus a wide-ranging manuscript developed by the spring of 1844, which remained unfinished, however. It was only a century later that it was published by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, in 1932, under the title, " Economic-Philosophical Manuscript."

In this manuscript Marx, in a polemic with bourgeois political economy and in a settling of accounts with Hegelian philosophy, investigated the role of labour in the development of the personality and society. He described labour as the essence of

a man, everything through which man becomes man : a social being capable of many-sided creative activity and of unlimited progress. However, under the economic relations of capitalism, where the product of labour does not belong to the working individual, but to the private owner of the means of production, or the " non-worker," as Marx then put it ; where the product created by the worker becomes, in the hands of the owner of the means of production, a power which rules the worker ; where the worker must sell his labour-power, for better or worse, and has no secure place in the social labour process—under these conditions man's labour appears as something hostile, something strange to him. Under these conditions labour loses its real meaning for the working man. It becomes coercion, a necessary evil, is found to be a burden, because the worker, as a result of capitalist private ownership, is robbed of the means of production as well as of the product of his labour.

All other forms of alienation in the social, political and ideological life of society rest on this economic foundation. The alienation of labour, called forth by capitalist private property, distorts the relations between people. It leads to the alienation of person from person, to the rule of one over the other, to antagonism between the workers and the non-workers. It leads also, however, to the alienation of the working people from one another, to isolation, to indifference towards fellow human beings, to loneliness.

Marx described in his manuscript how money is the real criterion in bourgeois society. Everything, even things not created by labour, can be bought with money. Whoever has money also has power over all human values. Money, Marx wrote, " transforms loyalty into disloyalty, love into hate, hate into love, virtue into vice, vice into virtue, serf into lord, lord into serf, idiocy into intelligence, intelligence into idiocy."[13] This power of money over people is only an expression of the alienated, unnatural, inhuman, social relations.

The opponents of Marxism have long sought, especially in

recent years, to misuse the "Economic-Philosophical Manuscript" for their own purposes. They strive to separate Marx's conception of alienation from its material, social and economic basis, and to set up alienation as "human nature." Since alienation of the human being is his "fate", he cannot free himself of it, unless he can change and purify his "nature" or "essence." Thus they try to condemn the worker to passivity, to fatalism, to hold him back from resistance to the society that exploits him, from revolutionary action.

Marx, however, had never derived alienation from "human nature." On the contrary, in his "Economic-Philosophical Manuscript" he had shown that the alienation of labour, and the resulting alienation in all human relations, is neither eternal nor natural, but concretely historical, and characteristic of every *exploiting* society. "*Material*, directly *physical* private property is the material, directly physical manifestation of *alienated human* life."[14] That is why alienation is set aside when its basis, the private ownership of the means of production, is set aside.

In contrast to bourgeois thinkers before him, who had indeed attacked single aspects of human alienation without, however, being able to uncover its origins, Marx tore away the ideological veil that concealed the origins of alienation and showed the working class that through the abolition of exploitation the origins of alienation would also be abolished. In socialist and communist society, Marx wrote, with the disappearance of the alienation of labour, the distortion of human relations that arises from it also disappears. In this new society there follows the "*flowering of man* through and for man"[15]; freedom takes the place of coercion, brotherhood takes the place of egoism, humaneness takes the place of inhumanity. In this society "you can exchange love only for love, loyalty only for loyalty, etc. When you want to enjoy art, you must be a person informed about art; when you wish to influence other people, you must be a truly stimulating person who can inspire others."[16]

In June 1844, however, Marx broke off his work on the

" Economic-Philosophical Manuscript." The critical study of the bourgeois economists was interesting and necessary, but the daily political struggle raised its own imperative demands. Above all it demanded answers to urgent questions, especially the question of the future of the working class.

Around this question there were fierce controversies among the French workers, and also among the German workers living in Paris. Many theoreticians with widely varying views were involved in controversies with one another. The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois socialists based themselves on the good sense and charity of the owning classes, preached against struggle, and wanted to persuade the owners of the need for social reform through peaceful propaganda. The " worker-communists " approved struggle, but they imagined they could seize power through conspiracies. All of them did not yet understand—or understood insufficiently—the power that slumbered in the proletarian masses themselves, as well as their ability to operate independently in politics.

Marx did not agree with their erroneous ideas. He recognized that they could not stand up to scientific examination. He therefore later described the representatives of these views either as " utopian socialists " or " utopian communists," as theoreticians who clearly saw and denounced the abuses and crimes of bourgeois society, but who showed the proletariat no scientifically grounded road to its liberation, who rather offered it only utopias and sham solutions.

But Marx's own views had also not yet fully ripened. He had clearly perceived the goal of the working class—the proletarian revolution and the abolition of classes through the abolition of private ownership—but the road to this goal still had to be mapped out. To do that, it was necessary to compare scientific knowledge and discoveries with political practice, to test them, and to follow the contest of opinions.

Marx went to the workers. He established connections with the secret societies in which the most progressive sections of the

Paris proletariat were organized. He paid special attention to the German workers living in Paris. They were mostly proletarian journeymen whose wanderings, and at times also political persecution in Germany, had brought them to Paris in tens of thousands. The revolutionaries among them had joined the League of the Just.

The League of the Just was not only the first proletarian German organization that Marx came to know, but in fact the first political organization of German workers. Originally half a propaganda association and half a conspiratorial group, the League devoted itself in the 1840's increasingly to the propagation of communist ideas among the proletarian journeymen and workers, though these ideas were still "utopian communist." It had, of course, to work mostly in secret. Its centres were Paris and London. It had local organizations, the so-called "Communities," in various areas of Switzerland and in numerous German cities. Through his neighbour, Hermann Mäurer, Marx was introduced to the League's groups in Paris and their leading personalities, such as the doctor and writer, Dr. Ewerbeck. Marx also engaged in an exchange of views with the spokesmen of the secret French workers' societies.

He did not join any of the existing groups, because he did not share the views about socialism and communism that prevailed among them. But he constantly sought a dialogue with the workers, partly to describe his views about the tasks of the proletariat to them, and more important, to learn from them, to become acquainted with their political experiences and their approach to life. Among the workers, he wrote, deeply moved, "the brotherhood of man . . . is not a phrase but the truth . . . from their faces hardened by toil shines the aristocracy of mankind."[17] His contacts with the workers thus not only enriched him with valuable experiences ; it strengthened his belief in the importance of his struggle and confirmed his reliance on the power and the high moral qualities of the working class. From now on the constant and intimate contact with the work-

ing class became an integral part of his work, a deeply felt need in his life.

His wide knowledge and his revolutionary audacity won respect and friendship for Marx not only among the workers. They equally attracted many honest democrats who, from Paris, worked to support the anti-feudal movements in their homeland. Democrats and communists, workers and intellectuals went in and out of Marx's door. They were not only the politically involved ; they included doctors, publicists, and poets like Georg Herwegh and Heinrich Heine. Though the Marx home was small, they all found in Karl and Jenny helpful friends, wise advisers and highly likeable companions.

May 1, 1844, brought the couple a joyful event. Jenny gave birth to her first child, a healthy daughter. In accordance with the father's wish, the girl was named after his beloved Jenny.

In those Paris days Heinrich Heine was one of the most frequent guests of the Marx family. He had been forced to flee to Paris in 1831 by the persecutions of the censor and the police in Germany. An intimate political bond joined Marx with this great poet and bold pioneer of historical progress. It had originated with the *German-French Yearbook,* to which Heine had contributed three poems, " Song of Praise to King Ludwig," a biting satire on the reactionary Bavarian king.

Marx and Heine shared a deep friendship, which was strengthened by the aesthetic insight and literary judgment of Karl and Jenny. They needed only few words, as Heine once wrote, with which to understand one another. Heine visited the young couple almost daily to read them his poems ; at times Heine and Marx sat together for hours over a poem, discussing and revising it, until it had found its ultimate masterful form. At other times the poet came to Marx completely disheartened, deeply wounded by a particularly hateful attack on him in the press. Jenny was then often the faithful friend in need who soon cheered him with her wit and charm.

But Heine did not only come in search of advice. He also

showed himself to be a true friend, a loyal helper. One day, when he found the two parents helpless and perplexed by their sick daughter, who was suffering severe cramps and choking, he cried out commandingly : " The child must be put in a tub !" He flung himself into preparing the bath, laid the child in it—and saved little Jenny's life.

Marx's friendship was of great significance for Heine's artistic development. In February 1844 the poet was already acknowledging : " My poems . . . will breathe higher politics !"[18] Imbued with " higher politics," Heine then wrote one of the greatest works of German literature : *Deutschland—ein Wintermärchen* (Germany—A Winter's Tale). He himself called it the " great poem." Authentic in its national feeling, annihilating in its sarcasm, genuine in its tragedy, the *Wintermärchen* was an uncompromising assault on feudal conditions in Germany and prophesied " a new race " that would one day ban oppression and poverty forever from the life of the German people.

> He would compose
> " a new song, a better song," Heine wrote,
> because " we want to build the realm
> of heaven right here on earth."[19]

Thus the bold revolutionary and scientist and the great poet fought with different weapons, but both were inspired by the same aspiration for a happier life for their people. If Heine never attained an understanding of scientific communism ; if, though a sharp critic of the contemporary situation, he never fully overcame his emotional reservations about the future communist society—all the more remarkable was his praise, in the first place meant for Marx, which he clothed in these words : " The more or less secret leaders of German communism are masters of logic, whose sturdiest representatives came out of the Hegelian school. They are without doubt the wisest heads, the most energetic personalities in Germany. These doctors of the revolution and their stern, determined disciples are the only

men in Germany with life in them, and to them, I fear, belongs the future."[20]

Much though Marx occupied himself with his books, he never buried himself in them. He kept an eye open constantly for an opportunity to participate in the public controversies with Prussian-German reaction. He found such an opportunity at last in a paper, the Paris *Vorwärts*, put out by democratic German emigrants. Ruge, Engels and Ewerbeck, Heine and Herwegh, and from August 1844 on also Marx, wrote for this radical-democratic paper, which had a modest circulation but was not molested by the censor. The attacks of the *Vorwärts* were directed especially against the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, the most powerful representative of reaction in Germany.

Marx followed developments in Germany with a watchful eye. The struggle of the popular masses in the country reached a first climax when thousands of weavers in Silesia, in June 1844, rose in open resistance to their capitalist exploiters. For three days they fought with the courage of death against Prussian troops called in to crush the rising.

With the revolt of the weavers, the proletariat had opened its revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie in a powerful and unmistakable manner, and had announced its historical rights. The German bourgeoisie, itself still combatting the reactionary feudal state power, was in the position of calling on the army and police of precisely this state to protect it. The class lines began to grow clearer.

Marx had followed the reports from Silesia with deep sympathy. He was furious when his one-time co-worker, Arnold Ruge, dismissed the weavers' uprising in the *Vorwärts* as unimportant. Ruge even sought, in a schoolmaster's tone, to deny the proletariat the power as well as the right to make history, in practice and in theory.

In a sharp polemic in *Vorwärts*, Marx vigorously defended the uprising and the revolutionary strength of the proletariat. He judged it to be the " active element " in the freeing of Germany

and prophesied an " athlete's role " for it. He declared that " some scientific understanding, however, and a certain amount of love for people "[21] must be a part of this outlook, and of solidarity with the working population. Thus, Marx broke completely with his former comrade-in-arms. Political antagonism and personal friendship were not compatible in Marx's view.

Marx already recognized that in the coming revolutionary struggles with the feudal state power the people, in the first place the developing proletariat, were called upon to play the decisive role. Disdain for the masses, for the proletariat, would weaken the entire anti-feudal movement. To reject the strength of the popular masses meant rejecting victory over the enemy of the German people. In such a matter, decisive for the future of the nation, personal ties could carry no weight.

The same considerations moved Marx, a few weeks later, to oppose the Bauer brothers publicly. Bruno Bauer and his associates, who put on airs as the holy guardians of Hegelianism, brought confusion into the democratic movement in Germany with their boundless arrogance towards the masses. Marx wanted to refute the unscientific, Idealist views of the Bauer brothers, whom he sarcastically called " the holy family " because of their claims to infallibility, in a small pamphlet. But the manuscript grew into a wide-ranging book.

Marx proved in it that neither supernatural forces, nor man's consciousness, nor " heroes . . . make history." It was the working masses alone who moved society forwards through their labour and their political struggle. The people were the real creators of history. " *Ideas,*" Marx wrote, " can never carry an old world order forward ; it can only carry forward the ideas of the old world order. Ideas can *in general* accomplish *nothing*. To implement the ideas, people are needed who possess practical power."[22]

In opposition to the utopian socialists, who saw only a helpless, suffering mass in the working class, Marx showed that the proletariat, through its economic and social position in capitalist

society, is called upon to free itself. "It cannot, however, free itself without abolishing its own living conditions. It cannot abolish its own living conditions without abolishing *all* the inhuman living conditions found in our contemporary society. Not for nothing does it go through the difficult, but hardening, school of *labour*. It is not a question of what this or that proletarian, or even the whole proletariat, at times *imagines* its goal to be. It is a question of *what* it *is*, and what, in accordance with this, it will be forced to do. Its goal and its historical action is clearly, irrevocably forecast, in its own living conditions and in the whole organization of contemporary bourgeois society."[23]

In these views the thesis of the world historical liberating mission of the proletariat as a class was basically elaborated. The course of history has since then confirmed it.

Marx had just begun writing "The Holy Family" when Friedrich Engels arrived in Paris at the end of August 1844, on a trip from England to Germany. Marx introduced him to his Paris comrades-in-arms. Together they attended meetings and gatherings of the workers. In unending daily discussions they exchanged views, establishing with ever greater pleasure that they agreed completely on all theoretical questions. To lend it this clarity, Engels wrote his part of "The Holy Family" while still in Paris. This was their first collaboration. The book appeared in February 1845 in Frankfurt-am-Main under the title, *The Holy Family, or a Critique of Critical Critique. Against Bruno Bauer & Company. By Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx.*

In these Paris days Marx and Engels also learned to esteem each other highly on the personal level and immediately became warm friends. With this meeting began the decades of creative collaboration between Marx and Engels that only death was to end. "Old legends," Lenin wrote later, "contain various moving instances of friendship. The European proletariat may say that its science was created by two scholars and fighters, whose relationship to each other surpasses the most moving stories of the ancients about human friendship."[24]

Friend and Comrade-in-Arms

riedrich Engels was born on November 28, 1820, in Barmen, the centre of the rapidly developing Rhineland textile industry. He was the son of a manufacturer and grew up in a strongly religious, Evangelical home. He had a lively personality, was very gifted, industrious, and showed a great interest in mathematics and languages as a student at the Elberfeld Gymnasium. German literature and its humanist ideas were a passion of his.

The young Friedrich was very much aware of the world about him. He noticed early the poverty and distress of the textile workers. His conception of right and wrong rebelled against these conditions. But his father turned a stony face to his questions and accusations and finally forced him, a year before his

matriculation, to exchange the schoolbench for the counting desk, sending him to Bremen to complete his business training.

The counting desk in no way interested the young man, but he learned the profession conscientiously and was later an experienced businessman. He utilized every free minute, however, to enlarge his knowledge of German and world literature. He read foreign literature in the original language whenever possible. He was particularly gifted in languages and even in his youth mastered one European language after the other. That was later to be of great importance for the political activity of the more mature man. He also found time to harden himself physically with riding, fencing and swimming. He wrote his sister proudly that he had swum the Weser river four times without a rest. The young Engels followed with interest the struggle of the growing anti-feudal movement in Europe. There slowly grew in him the conviction that only a determined support of the people and the revolution could serve progress and the passionate desire of the German nation for freedom.

The firmer Engels' democratic viewpoint became, the more he found himself in conflict with his religious upbringing. The 18-year-old wrestled long and hard with religion. " I pray daily for the truth," he wrote to friends in Barmen, " yes, almost the whole day. I have done so from the moment I began to doubt, and yet don't find my way back to your beliefs . . . I search for the truth wherever I hope to find even a shadow of it ; and still I cannot recognize your truth as eternal."[25] After difficult inner struggles he abandoned " the burden of the old belief,"[26] left religion behind him and went with characteristic firmness from religion to philosophy and science.

The young Engels took a lively part in political discussions among friends of the same age and similar attitudes. He considered the liberating deed as the goal of life ; he hated irresolution and compromise. He dreamed of the day on which the princely " palace windows would be smashed by the stone-throwers of the revolution."[27]

In this spirit the young man, barely turned 18, leaped into the anti-feudal battle with pen in hand. He wrote a great number of poems and articles in which he forcefully took his stand for freedom of expression and other rights of the people, as well as for a united, democratic fatherland. In his *Letters from Wuppertal*, which appeared in March 1839 in the newspaper *Telegraph für Deutschland*, he described the intellectual and social poverty concealed behind the scenic beauty of his native Wuppertal. He attacked the owning classes with indignation. " There is a terrible poverty among the lower classes, expecially among the factory workers in Wuppertal," he wrote. " In Elberfeld alone, of 2,500 children of school age 1,200 are denied education and grow up in the factories, so that the factory owner does not have to pay adults double the wage he pays a child. The rich factory owners have an elastic conscience."[28]

Engels identified himself determinedly with the struggle of the German people and also of other peoples against oppression and serfdom. He expressed his hatred of the feudal rulers and their bloody crimes without concealment. To his friends he wrote about the Prussian king : " I hate him . . . I hate him *bis in den Tod*—till death. If I was not forced to disdain him, this *Scheisskerl*, I would hate him even more."[29]

All the more did Engels feel himself bound to the people. He had a high regard for the labour, the moral qualities, the natural poetic sense and the love of homeland among the ordinary people. He felt a wholehearted identification with " the lower classes"[30] of the nation. He called upon the people to realize their own strength, and to support the struggle for " a great, united nation of equal rights with all their strength and wordly goods."[31]

Even in his youth Engels had announced his uncompromising enmity towards all the intellectual forces which sought to hinder progress in Germany through the spreading of reactionary and unscientific ideas. His motto was : " What science throws aside . . . should also disappear from life."[32]

Engels studied philosophy ardently, calling it " the soul of all science."[33] He considered himself a follower of Hegel, in whose dialectic he recognized a sharp weapon in the battle against the obscurantists. He took his place among the Young Hegelians, proud of the classical German philosophy.

In Berlin, where he served one year as a volunteer at the barracks in Kupfergraben (now the Friedrich Engels Barracks), in 1841—42 he attacked the theological and philosophical spokesmen of reaction with sarcasm and wit. Although he could not have met Marx here, since the latter had already left Berlin, he nevertheless knew of Marx through the latter's continuing influence in opposition circles. Like his prototype, Engels also became a supporter of Feuerbach's materialism. He began to collaborate with the *Rheinische Zeitung* at the end of 1842, casually meeting editor-in-chief Dr. Marx in Cologne. He left Germany in November 1842 for Manchester, where he went to work as a commercial representative in the cotton mill of Ermen & Engels, in which his father was a partner.

England had already for decades been in the van of industrial and capitalist development in Europe. As in no other country, the class struggles between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat were at an advanced stage. The industrial bourgeoisie was winning ever greater political power, and utilized it to exploit the working people brutally. The workers, in turn, defended themselves with strikes. There were already trade unions in existence which the workers had set up to support their economic struggle. There was also an independent, political mass organization of the proletariat, known as the Chartist movement.

In their People's Charter issued in 1838, the Chartists demanded a series of democratic reform, in the first place, universal suffrage—though only for men. Their demands met with especially great support among the factory workers of middle and northern England. Hundreds of thousands of people at times took part in the Chartist mass meetings. This proletarian-revolutionary movement, which was associated with many

strikes in practically all the important industrial areas, reached its high point between 1838 and 1842. The experiences of the English workers in mass political struggles were of great significance for the international proletariat.

The centre of the Chartist movement was Manchester, then the metropolis of English industry. It was here that Engels learned at first hand of the life and the unrestrained pursuit of profit of the bourgeoisie, and the unbelievable poverty and struggles of the industrial proletariat. What the 22-year-old saw affected him deeply. Was it not the same here as in his city of birth, only greyer in tone, more frightening in contrast, more shattering in its implications ? Was it not a stage of the development to which the German bourgeoisie also aspired ?

But he also made other discoveries. He was already acquainted with the suffering proletariat from his own land, now he came to know the *fighting* proletariat. From that moment on the life of the working masses drew him on like a magnet. He attended meetings in which the workers and the bourgeoisie fought out their antagonistic class interests in vehement debates. He saw the mean manipulation of the bourgeois spokesmen when they tried to push through a resolution expressing their viewpoint, and the partisanship of the police, who broke up the meetings when such machinations failed. He was an eye-witness to how the workers demonstrated their strength in great gatherings, and how truly humane, and with what historically progressive aims, they fought for their interests, whether it was for a shorter working day for the children employed in factories, or for their own right to vote.

The young businessman " avoided the society and the banquets, the Port wine and the champagne of the middle class," that is, of the bourgeoisie, and devoted his " free time exclusively to contacts with ordinary workers."[34] He visited the workers in their homes, shared their troubles and difficulties, and joined in their festivities. It was thus that he met Mary Burns, an Irish working girl, who later became his wife. Together

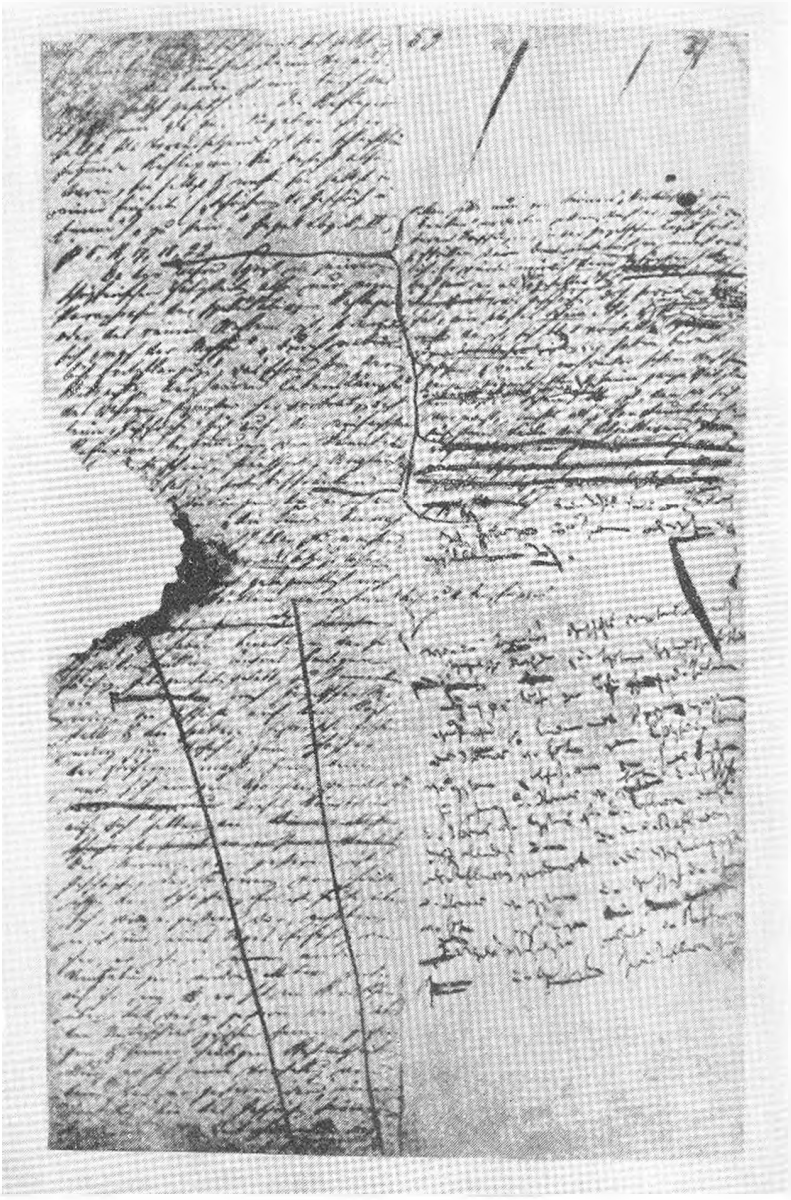
with her, or with his friend, the young German poet Georg Weerth, he wandered through the workers' quarter. Here, in the progressive spokesmen of the workers, he found the outlook, the inspiration and the strength of character that he had vainly looked for among the bourgeois.

The young factory owner's son had come to England as a radical democrat. But here he came to understand that freedom and equality were only a pretence in the bourgeois " order ", that the latter was in reality nothing more than a democracy of property and the rich, in which the workers had only the freedom to work for the capitalists or to starve. But Engels was too much a man of action to be content merely with the recognition of this scientific insight. Despite the horror of his family and the incomprehension of some of his friends, he drew the necessary consequences : he ranged himself on the side of the workers and announced himself to be a Communist.

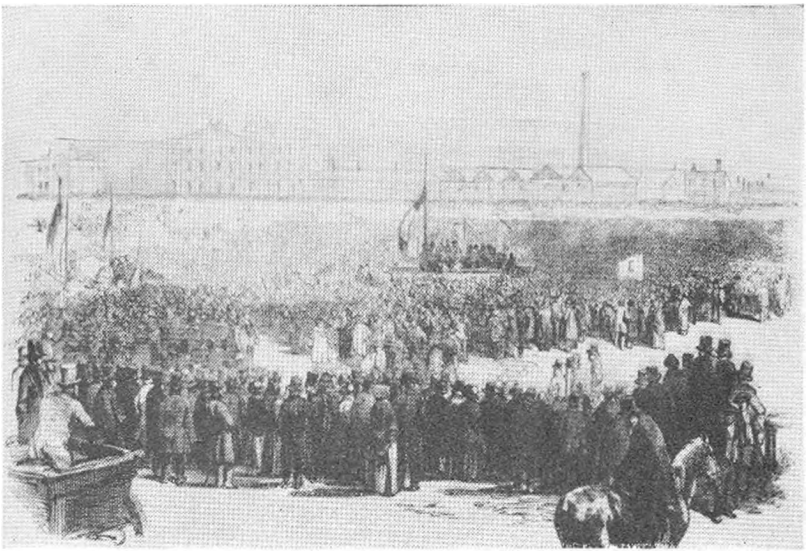
His next step was to establish relations with the leaders of the Chartist movement, whom he won as personal friends. He also met progressive German workers in England, leading members of the same League of the Just with whose organization in Paris Marx was also connected. In London, Engels became acquainted with the watchmaker, Joseph Moll, the shoemaker, Heinrich Bauer, and the former forestry student, Karl Schapper, " the first revolutionary proletarians " he had ever seen. Later, when he was fifty-six, he wrote with pride of his first meeting with these revolutionary German workers : " Regardless of how our views then differed, I will never forget the vivid impression these three real men had on me, who then still aspired to become a man myself."[35]

As a critical thinker Engels was not satisfied only with these connections, or with learning about proletarian living conditions and struggles. Like Marx, he immersed himself in everything that had previously been written about the nature of capitalist society and the situation of the proletariat. He studied the works of the English and French utopian socialists, the utopian com-

Friedrich Engels in 1845



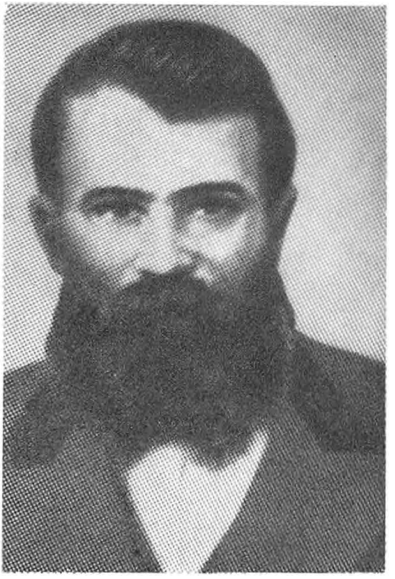
Page 53 of the manuscript of *The German Ideology* written by Engels, with corrections and notes by Marx



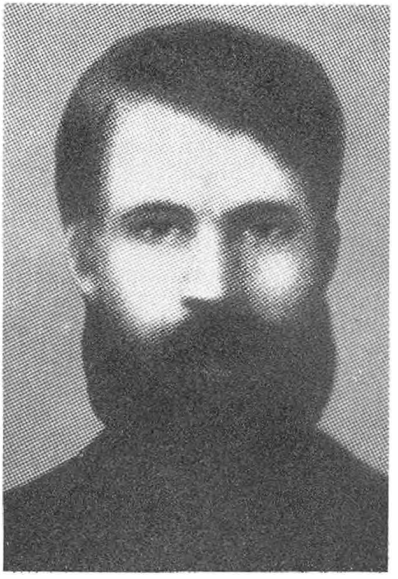
Rally of the Chartist movement in the 1840's

Helene Demuth

Wilhelm Wolff



Friedrich Lessner



Johann Georg Eccarius

Manifest

der

Kommunistischen Partei.

Veröffentlicht im Februar 1848.

Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch!

London.

Gedruckt in der Office der „Bildungs-Gesellschaft für Arbeiter"
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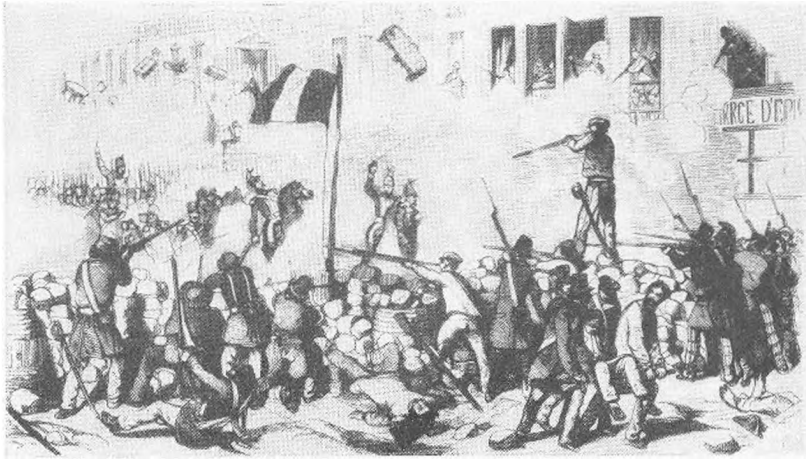
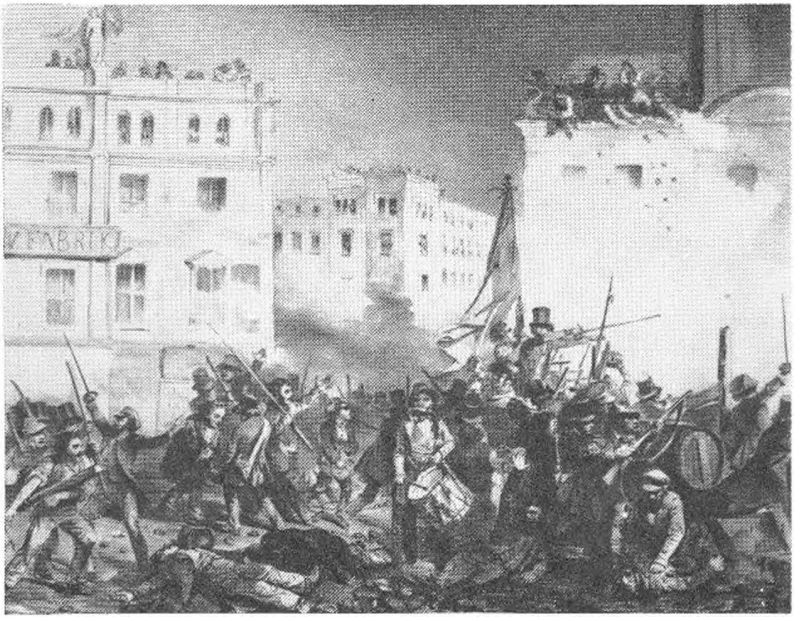
46, Liverpool Street, Bishopsgate.

Cover of the March 1848 edition



Paris workers fighting on the barricades during the uprising of February 24, 1848



Fighting on the barricades in Berlin on March 18, 1848

munists, the bourgeois economists, the various materialist philosophers, as well as the natural sciences. At the same time he subjected everything he read to scientific critical analysis and checked it against the needs of the working class movement. This led him to the conclusion "that the economic factors, which have figured not at all, or only to a limited degree, in historical writings up to now, are at least in the modern world a decisive historical force; that they are the foundation on which today's class antagonisms arise; that these class antagonisms—in those lands where large scale industry is highly developed, as for example, England—are in turn the basis for the emergence of political parties, of party struggles, and thereby the entire political history."[36]

These thoughts, with which Engels in essence set aside the viewpoints of Hegel and Feuerbach, found expression in his essay, "Outlines of a Critique of the National Economy," which he had submitted to the *German-French Yearbook*. Later he correlated his ideas in the book, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. This book was the most basic, most eloquent attack on capitalism published till then. Engels wrote it in Barmen, to which he returned in September 1844, after almost two years in England, and after his meeting with Marx in Paris. With this book Engels laid the foundation for a scientific analysis of capitalism. On the basis of an abundance of material—mostly original official texts—and his own viewpoint, he examined the latest developments in industry and capitalism, and the many-sided forms of exploitation and impoverishment of the English proletariat. He also showed that only the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat could set aside this inhuman situation, and came to the conclusion that the "strength and the ability of the nation to develop rests" on the working class.[37]

Engels left Barmen at the beginning of 1845, after he had finished the book, to set forth the struggle he had already begun together with Marx. But Marx was no longer in Paris. The

Prussian government, which had kept Marx's activities in Paris under close observation from the first day on, had in January succeeded in getting the French authorities to expel him. He was ordered to leave Paris within 24 hours, and to be out of France in the shortest possible time. When the liberal press protested against this outrageous act, the French government offered to let him stay on in Paris if he withdrew from all anti-Prussian agitation. Marx's answer was to leave the country. Since he could not return to Germany, because a warrant for arrest awaited him at the Prussian border, he emigrated to Belgium.

He was accompanied on the journey by Heinrich Bürgers, then a friend and comrade-in-arms who volun arily left Paris with him. " It must have been around the time of Shrove Tuesday," Bürgers remembered later, " when two young men from Paris drove towards the Belgian border by post, with Brussels as their destination. They were alone in the carriage and whiled away the time during the boring drive through Picardy with enthusiastic conversation, and sometimes a song that the younger man sang to dissipate the thoughtfulness of his older companion, who tried in vain to shake off his mood. Their trip was not entirely voluntary, although it was based on a free choice. Karl Marx —he was the older of the two young Germans—had received an expulsion order from the police in Paris."[38]

On the Road to the Party

Banished by the reactionary Prussian government and its friends in France, Marx arrived in Brussels in early February 1845. A short time later his wife joined him, destitute, with their nine-months-old daughter. Poverty cast its shadow over them. Since the Brussels police forbade Marx the publication of anything about current politics, he was denied all means of earning a livelihood.

But here his friend Engels came to the rescue. "The dogs shall at least not have the pleasure of dragging you into pecuniary embarrassment,"[39] he wrote Marx, and organized a collection among their mutual acquaintances and political friends in the Rhineland. He himself turned over to Marx the first royalties on his book, *The Condition of the Working Class in England.*

This friendly help solved the problem for the time being. But the uncertainty about the future remained, for the Prussian government now put pressure on the Belgian Ministry also to drive the feared revolutionary from the country. Under these circumstances, Marx had no choice at the end of 1845 but to give up his Prussian citizenship, from which he had derived the sole privilege of being driven from one land to another by his " own " government.

But the more Prussian reaction persecuted Marx outside the borders of his fatherland, the more friends he won among the best representatives of the German people. In February 1845 he met Ferdinand Freiligrath, the poet of the approaching revolution who had demonstratively aligned himself with the revolutionary forces the previous year. A few months later came Georg Weerth, whom Engels later called " the first and most significant poet of the German proletariat,"[40] and who remained a lifelong collaborator of Marx and Engels. But the greatest pleasure for Marx was Engels' move to Brussels in April 1845. With such a friend at his side the hard fate of the emigrant was made lighter and the struggle went better.

In this Brussels period the Marx family " expanded " : Helene Demuth, a resolute, intelligent peasant daughter of the Moselle, who had lived in the house of the von Westphalen family from her earliest youth, came to the young couple in April 1845 in order to help Jenny with the housework. Lenchen, as the Marx family called her, coped firmly with all the problems of daily life which Jenny was not always able to master, not to speak of Marx himself. Her practical sense, her prudent decisiveness, her selflessness and her frugality helped overcome the worst crises. Lenchen shared with the Marx family all the joys and sorrows of the household till Jenny's death.

While still in Barmen, before his move to Brussels, Engels had written urgently to Marx : " What we now need above everything else are a few bigger works, in order to provide a footing for the many half-informed people who have the will to learn but

cannot manage it themselves. . . . We must strike the iron, because it is hot."[41] Marx knew how right his friend was, but he could not bring himself to end his philosophical and economic studies prematurely. He was especially dissatisfied with the fact that he had not yet sufficiently mastered the latest English literature and the economic and political practice that was its foundation.

In mid-July 1845, therefore, he undertook a research trip with Engels to England for a number of weeks. In London he met many leading members of the " League of the Just." The friends spent most of their time in Manchester. Here, for weeks, Marx read and copied out the economic and political literature and made himself familiar with the treasure house of ideas and experiences of the English workers' movement.

When back in Brussels, Marx and Engels threw themselves into their work. They set out to deepen their materialist historical, viewpoint, which had already been put forward in *The Holy Family.* They were driven to this all the more by the many polemical attacks on the ideas expounded in *The Holy Family.*

In barely six months the two friends finished a wide-ranging manuscript to which they gave the title, *The German Ideology.* But all their efforts to find a publisher for it in Germany failed. As Marx later wrote with bitter humour, they had to consign the manuscript to " the nibbling criticism of the mice."[42] It was only in 1932 that the book could appear, issued by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute of the Central Comittee of the Soviet Communist Party. Nevertheless, the work fulfilled an important function : it helped Marx and Engels achieve a mutual understanding of their previous views and to apply their newly won outlook to the various fields of science.

As with many of the works of Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology* was a polemical study, a settling of accounts with the various forms of philosophical idealism then dominant in Germany, as well as with the weaknesses of Feuerbach's

materialism. As in every scientific dispute, new ideas emerged from this polemic also. In the debates with the then dominant bourgeois and petty-bourgeois philosophy and political ideas, Marx and Engels worked out in *The German Ideology,* for the first time and in a comprehensive and systematic manner, the fundamentals of dialectical and historical materialism, the world outlook of the working class. They were able to accomplish that because they based themselves on the storehouse of knowledge built up with the development of bourgeois society, especially the till then greatest achievement of progressive thinking in Europe : German classical philosophy, English classical political economy, French utopian socialism, and the revolutionary French precept of class struggle. To note and appreciate the contribution of every people to the world's culture was in their eyes a natural law for all scientists and humanists.

Where Hegel and the Young Hegelians had attributed the development of nature, of man and of social relations to the development of the Idea, Marx and Engels recognized, in direct contradiction, that the Idea was a reflex of nature, of material things. Feuerbach had also seen that. But Marx and Engels further developed materialism—which they applied not only to nature but also to society—as well as the Hegelian dialectical method. They freed these from their Idealist encumbrances and established them for what they really were—the science of the general laws of the movement, structure and development of nature, society and thought. There thus emerged a completely new quality in philosophical thinking : dialectical materialism.

Dialectical materialism, founded by Marx and Engels, explains the world and its development, not as the Idealists did, through the spirit, the Idea, but through matter, through itself. It holds that not only do all natural phenomena have a material basis, but the development of human society is based on material forces and their evolution. It teaches that things and phenomena are not fixed, motionless, but are rather in a constant state of development and change ; that this development does not

proceed evenly, but that the quantitative changes lead to qualitative changes and sudden leaps, and vice versa ; and that it is the inner contradictions in things and phenomena, and the struggle of antagonisms caused by these contradictions, that drive development forward. This dialectical materialism is in essence creative, revolutionary ; every dogmatic mode of thinking is foreign to it. In place of passive observation dialectical materialism puts the unity of theory and revolutionary activity.

Marx had already formulated these essential points of his philosophy in the spring of 1845 in the pregnant sentence : "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways ; the point, however, is *to change* it."[43] At that time he wrote this thought—later to be published and become famous as one of the "theses on Feuerbach"—only in his notebook. But in this short sentence there was already embedded "the brilliant germ of the new world outlook."[44]

The two friends now began, in *The German Ideology,* to apply the materialist approach, unlike Feuerbach and other materialist philosophers before him, not only to nature, but equally to human society and its history. Thus they created historical materialism. They took the decisive step that Feuerbach had not been able to take.

In their manuscript of some 300 pages, Marx and Engels showed that human beings, before they can concern themselves with politics, science, art and religion, must eat, drink, live and clothe themselves ; that the production of things and materials essential for life, and thereby the prevailing stage of economic development of a people, is the foundation and point of departure of its historical evolution. In the course of their investigations, the two friends came to the conclusion that philosophical, historical, and other ideas, as well as juridical and political relations or state forms, cannot be explained in themselves, but that in the final instance they have their roots in the economic relations in which men live, as is the case with the overall development of human society. "It is not consciousness that

determines life, but life that determines consciousness,"[45] they declared in their "German Ideology." All historical changes, all social transformations have their ultimate origin in the conditions of material life in society, in the development of material forces, in the productive forces.

On the basis of their investigation of the development of the means of production, Marx and Engels then showed how the shape and form of production plays a decisive role in the whole social life. By *means of production* they meant the people with their experience and skills in production, and the equipment with which the material products are produced. On the other hand, by *production relations* they meant those relations between people that arise in the process of production, of the exchange and distribution of the material goods. They showed that between the development of these means of production and these production relations there is an interconnection and interplay determined by certain laws. Later, Marx formulated the views put forward in The German Ideology in these words: "At a certain stage in their development, the material means of production of society come into contradiction with the prevailing production relations, or—what is merely a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they had previously functioned. From forms of development of the means of production, these relations now become fetters on the means of production. A period of social revolution begins. With the transformation of the economic basis, the entire enormous superstructure is slowly or quickly overturned . . . A social system never disappears before all the means of production are developed of which it is capable, and new production relations never arise before the material conditions of existence for them have been hatched in the womb of the old society. That is why mankind always sets itself only those tasks that it can solve, for viewed more exactly it will always be found that the task only arises when the material conditions for its solution are already available or are at least discernible in the process of becoming."[46]

With the dialectical materialist view of history, Marx and Engels were able to find the proper answers for all those historical-philosophical questions that previous philosophers and social theorists had posed but had not been able to answer. Thus the social sciences received a really scientific basis. The essence of class struggle in modern society, and above all the role of the proletariat, was also now much more comprehensively worked out than in the *German-French Yearbook* or *The Holy Family.* When Marx and Engels wrote their *German Ideology,* they were well aware that a knowledge of their historical mission was, almost without exception, still absent among the workers. But that did not mislead them. They based themselves on the objective position of the proletariat in society. On the basis of this objective position the working class had to overthrow the state, which " the bourgeoisie considered essential for the mutual guaranteeing, externally and internally, of its property and its interests."[47] The proletariat had " to seize political power, to begin with,"[48] and that meant " through a revolution in which . . . the rule of the till then prevailing forms of production and exchange and the social structure are overthrown."[49] Here, for the first time, Marx and Engels formulated the historical task of the proletariat to conquer political power.

When the two friends finished the work on *The German Ideology* in May 1846 they had, from the philosophical point of view, worked out the essential foundations of scientific communism. With scientific precision, and with a constant investigation of social practice, they had shown " that socialism is not the invention of dreamers, but a final aim and necessary result of the development of the productive forces in modern society."[50]

That was a great moment, an unprecedented accomplishment in the history of human thought. Philosophy, which had previously denigrated the people, the producers of material goods, now, as dialectical materialism, declared the working masses to be " the salt of the earth." It recognized in the working class

the only force capable of bringing all mankind freedom and justice, peace and prosperity, through the creation of the socialist social system.

Certain enemies of Marxism have long endeavoured to falsify the teachings of Marx by seizing upon those ideas which in Marx's first writings had not yet fully ripened, in order to set them up as "true" Marxism against revolutionary Marxism. Naturally, there is much that is only intimated at times in the above mentioned works of Marx but which is more authoritatively and more clearly expressed in his later works. This does not in the least alter the revolutionary content of his earlier writings. Marx himself confirmed that most convincingly when, already during his work on *The German Ideology*, he began "to revolutionize the existing world and to attack and to change the prevailing conditions in practice"[51]—as he demanded of communists in *The German Ideology*.

For Marx it was urgent to bring his views to those people who were called upon to change revolutionary theory into revolutionary practice : the workers. That was also necessary, since the wretched economic and social situation of the proletariat, and the exclusive right to education of the ruling classes, made it impossible for the workers themselves to study scientific works to any great degree and to search for the laws of historical development on their own. These scientific conceptions could only be worked out by educated representatives of the propertied class, by progressive intellectuals, who unreservedly served the proletariat. Such intellectuals, who drew back neither from material need, nor defamation, nor persecution in order to march together with the working people, fearless and courageous, along the road they had mapped out—such intellectuals were Marx and Engels. If the theory was not to remain barren, if the fight of the workers was not to remain planless and without an aim, then scientific communism and the already existing organizations of the working class had to be welded together.

But what road led to this goal ?

Marx had already learned on many occasions how difficult it was to spread his views with newspapers and books alone. It was practically impossible for a single political emigrant to form a new workers' organization. There remained only one alternative—to combine with what was already in existence, and to rely on the fact that among the most progressive sections of the European working class, and at first especially among the German workers, the truth of scientific communism would prevail over the existing unscientific viewpoints.

In February 1846, while Marx was still at work on *The German Ideology,* the two friends, together with some like-minded comrades in Brussels, founded the "Communist Correspondence Committee." Marx's aim was "to establish ties between the German socialists and the French and English socialists, to keep the foreigners informed about the socialist movements developing in Germany, as well as to inform the Germans in Germany about the progress of socialism in France and England. In this manner it will be possible to ascertain the differences of opinion, to exchange views, and to work out an objective criticism. This is the step that the social movement must take in its *literary* work in order to overcome *national* narrowness."[52] Marx believed that, in the given circumstances, this was the best way to develop an all-embracing international communist propaganda, which would gradually, step by step, bring together the genuine revolutionary forces around a unified communist program, and prepare the way for the needed party of the proletariat. The subsequent course of events confirmed this view.

The correspondence of the Brussels Committee soon took on broad proportions and was carried on by Marx, Engels and Philippe Gigot, a Belgian communist, an archivist by profession. These three constituted the Committee in the narrower sense. But when there were important questions to take up and to decide on, or theoretical problems of a fundamental nature, they

were dealt with by a larger circle of German refugees living in Brussels who had espoused Communism and joined Marx and Engels. These included, in the first place, the teacher Wilhelm Wolff, who had already earned prominence as legal counsel for the Silesian weavers, small peasants and workers. Fleeing from the Prussian police-spies, he had come to Brussels in April 1846, searched out Marx at once and became one of the latter's closest friends. Later, Marx dedicated his greatest scientific work, *Das Kapital*, to this loyal comrade. There were, further, the journalists Louis Heilberg, Sebastian Seiler and Ferdinand Wolff, the tailor and writer Wilhelm Weitling, Jenny Marx's brother, Edgar von Westphalen, and—with some interruptions—the former officer turned journalist and surveyor, Joseph Weydemeyer, who remained bound to the Marx family in lifelong friendship.

The opinions developed in the letters and general correspondence of Marx and his co-workers did not by any means bring only a favourable reaction ; they also called forth opposition. But the response was at all times lively. It became apparent quickly that this exchange of views was necessary and useful.

The Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee soon had international connections. Marx, Engels and their friends established contacts, or strengthened them where they already existed, with revolutionary representatives of the Chartist movement, with French and Belgian socialists, and with revolutionary-minded intellectuals in Germany. Marx devoted special attention to the progressive German workers, the League of the Just and its centres in London and Paris. In May 1846, Marx and Engels proposed to the London leaders of the League of the Just that they set up a Communist Correspondence Committee in London also. Heinrich Bauer, Joseph Moll and Karl Schapper agreed in the name of the London Communists. They used their connections in numerous localities where organizations of the League of the Just existed, mostly in secret, to set up Communist Correspondence Committees there too. Thanks to these widespread efforts, Correspondence Committees were organized

within a few months in London, Paris, Le Havre, Copenhagen, Cologne, Elberfeld, Hamburg, Kiel, Breslau, Leipzig and other cities. They were small in membership, but were very important for the clarification of the road the working class had to take to win power. Step by step, the Brussels Committee became an ideological and political centre of the Communist movement. That was possible, however, only at the cost of great personal sacrifice.

Marx's robust health, about which he had once enthusiastically reported to his father, was seriously undermined as a result of his unremitting labours, often till late in the night. On those about him, as a visitor described it, he still left the impression of "a man . . . embodying energy, determination and unyielding conviction."[53] But with the birth of a second daughter, Laura, in September 1845, and of the longed-for son Edgar, at the end of 1846 his anxiety for the well-being of the enlarged family deepened steadily. Even the necessary means for his work on the Correspondence Committee could be assured only through collections among friends.

It became clearer from month to month how absolutely necessary the process of ideological clarification was in the League of the Just and other worker's organizations. The Utopian communist ideas of Wilhelm Weitling, for example, were then widespread in the League. Marx highly esteemed the tailor as an ardent and self-sacrificing defender of Communist ideas. He was proud of this son of the German proletariat, who in his best writings had already come close to an understanding of the fact that only the working class can liberate itself, and only through revolutionary actions. Yet Weitling was still a prisoner of utopian ideas regarding the manner and the methods with which this liberation was possible.

When Weitling came to Brussels in the spring of 1846, Marx worked strenuously to win him as an ally. He tried to free him of conceptions based on utopian, subjective wishes and not on objective conditions. He tried to make him realize that the pro-

letariat needed, not a propaganda based simply on emotion and an appeal to elementary class instincts, but on scientific theory ; not a spontaneous uprising and the sectarian tactic of a conspiracy, but a political mass movement with a party at its head.

When the Brussels Correspondence Committee met on March 30, 1846, Marx once more made an effort, supported by his friends, to persuade Weitling, but without success. Weitling clung stubbornly to his fantastic claim that the Communist revolution was imminent in Germany and that to carry it through the proletariat needed only enthusiasm, not scientific insight and systematic organizational work. He was not able to rid himself of his once progressive, but now outmoded, ideas. Marx was forced to oppose these sectarian views with the utmost decisiveness, since they led the workers astray. As a materialist who based himself on the objective situation and not on pseudo-radical fantasies, he declared that the next revolution in Germany would bring to power, not the proletariat but first the bourgeoisie. All unscientific prophecies would merely drive the workers to unnecessary sacrifices. In reply to Weitling's disdain for theory, Marx declared : " Ignorance has never yet been of use to anyone."[54]

Weitling remained completely alone with his viewpoint in the Brussels Correspondence Committee. His influence in the League of the Just also receded, and he isolated himself ever more from the revolutionary movement.

A few weeks later the members of the Brussels Committee gathered again for an important consultation. This time the issue was the viewpoint of certain German intellectuals who for the time being exerted influence over a number of local organizations and who were referred to sarcastically by Marx and Engels as " true " or " German socialists." Marx vigorously combatted these unrealistic theoreticians who, as philosophical Idealists, tried to replace class struggle with an abstract love of people, to promote the reconciliation of exploiters and exploited, and to change the communist theory into a religion. He

showed that the grounds for all social evils were to be sought, not in man's egoism, as the " true socialists " claimed, but in the capitalist relations of production. The glossing over of class antagonism could only lead the workers astray. In a communication to other Committees Marx and his friends condemned with appropriate sharpness the conduct of the " true socialists " and their petty-bourgeois ideology, calling it " fantastic soul-raving " that could have only " a most demoralizing effect on the workers."[55]

The controversies with Weitling's utopian communism and the " true socialists " had positive results. In June 1846 Marx received a report from London that the communists there supported the break with Weitling and his ideas. The revolution, the Londoners declared, does not materialize on command. On the contrary, the " physical revolution " must be prepared by the " mental revolution." " Our task," they wrote, " is to educate the people and to make propaganda for the collective society."[56] These declarations showed Marx that the recognition was more and more gaining ground in the League of the Just and among its leaders that their previous conceptions of communism had been flawed and immature.

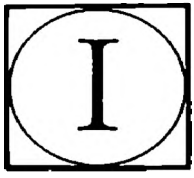
Marx followed this gradual change with close attention and satisfaction. His belief in the open-mindedness of the class-conscious workers justified itself. The London leaders of the League of the Just—along with Bauer, Moll and Schapper, now also the tailor, Johann Georg Eccarius from Thuringia, and the painter of miniatures, Karl Pfänder, from Heilbronn—worked energetically to push the process of clarification in all the local organizations of the League. In an address to the members, they proposed the calling of a congress and the drafting of a new program as the most important tasks. It was precisely the vital preparatory work that convinced them that it was impossible to go forward without the collaboration of Marx and Engels. This led to a decisive turning-point in the development of the League of the Just.

At the beginning of 1847, Joseph Moll came to Marx in Brussels to inform him, on behalf of the League, that its leaders were convinced of the general validity of the views of Marx and Engels, and also saw the need to free the League of its old traditions. He asked Marx to join the League and to collaborate in its reorganization. He also gave Marx assurances that he could elaborate his scientific viewpoint before the Congress, which would then be published as the League's program. Moll laid the same proposals before Friedrich Engels, who was then spending some time in Paris, working among the members of the League there.

Marx and his friend Engels made their entry into the League dependent on "the removal from the statutes of everything that buttressed the superstition of authority."[57] Marx loathed the cult of a single person, since it contradicted the newly developed, scientific world outlook and inhibited the activity of the masses. Important for Marx, above all, was the cause itself, the success of its political work, the devotion to the working class. Extravagant praise was for him detestable.

The central leadership of the League in London agreed to the demands of Marx and Engels, persuaded of their correctness through their own experiences. The two friends thereupon grasped the hand extended to them and became members of the League. The criticisms they had made of the League were recognized as valid by the League's leaders themselves. The work of the Communist Correspondence Committee, which had been active barely one year, was confirmed in practice as correct and successful. Philosophy and proletariat, scientific communism and the workers' movement now began to unite.

The Founding of the Communist League



In keeping with the slogan he had proclaimed in the *German-French Yearbook*, "*War* Against the German Situation,"[58] Marx had followed with close attention the development in nearby Germany from Brussels, especially in the Prussian state. He had greeted even the smallest advance of the opposition movement with warm sympathy. He yearned for the day when his people would at last also rise up against the feudal oppressors and create a united fatherland. Now, in 1847, it seemed that the day was not far off. The anti-feudal movement was in a new stage : it was more and more winning the popular masses.

Bad harvests in 1845 and 1846 had led to a serious crisis in agriculture in Germany. Hundreds of thousands suffered from

hunger, and many thousands starved. In many localities, there were hunger riots in the suppression of which even the military was pressed into service. In mid-1847 an economic crisis broke out in England also. It spread quickly to Germany. An ever greater ferment developed among the peasants, artisans and workers. The deep dissatisfaction made itself apparent in outright political demonstrations in some areas.

The Prussian bourgeoisie, which was also affected by the crisis, now realized clearly how uendurable the fossilized feudal system had become. The state treasury was empty. The king screamed for money. But the money was in the hands only of his enemies, the bourgeoisie, whom he had till then denied every political right to participate in government. In matters of money, however, "there was no room for cordiality," as one of the spokesmen of the Rhine's bigger capitalists, David Hansemann, unmistakably put it.[59]

Accelerated by the open conflict between the feudal aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, a revolutionary situation thus matured in Germany. The ruling feudal class and the king could no longer rule as previously. The oppressed classes refused to be governed any longer in the old way.

In the light of the developing economic and political crisis the question of how the proletariat would act became very urgent. In the branches of the League of the Just, among the Communists, and also among the as yet unorganized workers there were decidedly different opinions on this question. The pros and cons were argued in hot debates. Should they believe the siren song of the feudal class that aristocrat and worker had a common enemy in the bourgeoisie? Or should they support the bourgeoisie, which itself so ruthlessly exploited the proletariat, against the king and the aristocrats? Should they lay their hands in their lap, and merely watch the contest between feudal lord and bourgeois as amused spectators? Or were the hotheads right who said the workers should exploit the hostilities between both exploiting classes in order to throw out both with one

blow and achieve a communist society ? Questions piled one on the other—questions to which previous history had given only an incomplete answer. But the German workers needed an answer more than ever, now that their most progressive representatives were working to establish a party under the leadership of Marx and Engels.

There was nothing that Marx wished more than that his suffering people be freed as quickly as possible from all their exploiters and oppressors. But hi did not allow himself to be seduced by wishful dreams. He saw that the coming revolution, in its essence, could at first be only a bourgeois-democratic revolution, that there was then only one class in Germany strong enough to take over power from the feudal aristocrats—namely, the bourgeoisie. But coming up behind the bourgeois-democratic revolution he already saw the proletarian, the workers' revolution. To prepare the way for it was the guiding principle of his thinking and actions. That differentiated him from all bourgeois democrats.

As simple and clear as it might seem to be, it was a highly complicated matter to work out in detail the strategy that the working class and the young workers' movement should follow in the approaching bourgeois revolution. Even more complicated was the creation of the forces which could alone transform this strategy into deeds. The previous experiences in the class struggle had showed, and the theoretical work of Marx and Engels had confirmed, that such a force could only be a revolutionary party. A revolutionary party was indispensable for the independent political intervention of the working class. Only such a party could give a goal and a direction to the young proletariat in the developing class battles, could bring the available forces together and carry the ideas of scientific communism to the masses. The creation of a party of the working class became an urgent task. And the shortness of time posed a serious threat, because of the possibility that the class-conscious German workers would face the bourgeois-democratic revolution

without arms, without a program and without a marching route.

Marx now devoted all his strength to the founding of a revolutionary workers' party. He helped prepare the first congress of the projected association, which was planned for 1847. It was necessary to draft statutes in which organizational principles, the duties and the aims of the members would be clearly expressed, in accordance with the new views and the new knowledge. Together with Engels, Marx contributed the basic ideas to the draft of the statutes.

The association was to be a democratic but strictly organized and militant body, with elected leaders, subject to constant recall, which would be set up in local and district groups, and with leading committees. At the head would be a central leadership which would be responsible to the congress as the highest organ of the organization. These were already the organizational principles which were later to become characteristic of all revolutionary workers' parties as " democratic centralism." The local groups could not consist of less than three or more than 20 members, since the organization would have to work in secret and protect itself as much as possible from police detection.

Marx and Engels attached great significance to the duties of each member. He had to accept communism, naturally, and to observe the decisions of the organization. At the same time, however, it was his duty to conduct himself in such a manner in his private life and his political work as to be an example to others and to show himself worthy of being a communist. Every member, further, had to show energy and zeal in deepening his own knowledge and spreading it among others. These were high moral, political and ideological demands.

The basis and goal of the League was declared to be : " the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the old bourgeois society resting on class antagonism and the founding of a new society without classes and without private property."[60] In accordance with this aim Marx and

Engels proposed that the organization be called the League of Communists, and that in place of the old slogan, "All men are brothers," there be substituted the new battle-cry, "Workers of the world, unite!" This would openly proclaim the proletarian-revolutionary and international character of the struggle.

In the preparation of the Congress, Marx never for a moment forgot how much there was still to be done even among the most politically mature workers, in order to spread the basic ideas of scientific communism. Many variations of petty-bourgeois socialism still dominated the thinking of some people in the League of the Just, hindering the working out of an over-all scientific program and the creation of the new party. The Frenchman, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who was a type-setter by trade but was a prisoner of petty-bourgeois socialism, tried in his writings to make the proletariat believe in the peaceful reform of capitalism. He suffered from the illusion that it was possible to abolish the inhuman consequences of capitalist development without touching the foundations of capitalism—private property in the means of production and wage-labour. He developed reform plans along these lines. To follow Proudhon meant, ultimately, to reject the independent struggle of the proletariat. His misleading views could not remain unchallenged. Marx took on the "thankless job"[61] of comprehensively refuting Proudhon's book, *The Philosophy of Poverty*, in which Proudhon had outlined his views.

Marx worked strenuously on his "Anti-Proudhon" from January to June 1847. The French edition of the book appeared in July in Brussels, in an edition of 800 copies. With an ironical play on Proudhon's title, Marx called his work *The Poverty of Philosophy*. The "poverty" was the unscientific nature of Proudhon's views. To prove this "poverty" was Marx's most important aim, but again he did not content himself merely with burying false views in polemic. He presented to the public in his book, for the first time, the basic ideas of the materialist teaching about the laws of social development—the

viewpoint which he had expounded with Engels in *The German Ideology*, but which had never been published. More than that, in *The Poverty of Philosophy* Marx also put forward the first results of the critical revision of bourgeois political economy he had already begun in Paris. He pointed out the significance of the economic struggle of the proletariat, of strikes and workers' unions, and described how important they were for the political education of the working people. For the first time, he formulated the concept, so vital for the tactics of the proletariat, that economic and political struggles are inseparable, but that the complete emancipation of the working class is possible only through political struggle, through the overthrow of the political rule of the bourgeoisie. These were concepts and suggestions with which Marx directly assisted the formation of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, and which have not lost their significance or actuality to this day.

To his great chagrin, Marx could not take part in the first Congress in London in June 1847. He and his family were once again in a situation where they lacked the necessities of life. Even his friends could give him little assistance, and it was impossible to think of an expensive trip to London. But Marx knew that he would be ably represented there, since Engels was taking part as a delegate of the Paris organization and Wilhelm Wolff as a delegate of the Brussels branch of the League of the Just.

When Wolff returned to Brussels, he brought good news with him : the draft of the statutes, in line with the views of Marx and Engels, had been approved and sent out to the organizations of the League of the Just for discussion. The new name and the new slogan had been accepted. The Congress delegates had rejected Weitling's utopian views as inconsistent with membership in the League. The drawing up of a program had been decided on.

Though these decisions did not yet provide the urgently needed party with a finished scientific program, it did lay the

foundation for such a party. Now the job was to build further on this foundation.

The Brussels and district sections of the League of Communists were set up at the beginning of August. Marx was elected chairman of the Brussels group, and also to the district committee. He urged that the developing, hard-pressed and still illegal party utilize every possibility of broadening and strengthening its connections with the mass of the workers. He himself showed the way. At the end of August 1847, together with Engels, he organized the Brussels German Workers' Association, a legal organization which was influenced by the local body of the League of Communists and which soon had about one hundred members.

The members of the Association met every Wednesday and Saturday evening at the "House of the Swan," the old guild house of the Brussels butchers on the Grand Place. Marx took part regularly in the meetings of the association, saying "that no matter how small it may be, its public activity has an immensely refreshing effect on everyone."[62] On Wednesday evenings there were lectures and discussions about political and social questions. On Saturday evenings the program consisted of a political review of the week by Wilhelm Wolff, followed by entertainment, singing, recitations, dancing or a dramatic presentation. The wives of the members also took part, and Jenny Marx brightened many evenings with recitations.

It was thanks to Marx that the workers' association became a school for communism. He delivered a series of lectures on the origins of capitalist exploitation and explained to his hearers why the interests of capital and the interests of the workers were irreconcilable. In these lectures to the workers Marx sharpened his skill in exposition. The discussions provided him with experiences that he was able to put to use in the decades that followed. Above all, through this public activity he won the confidence of the politically interested Brussels workers. They found in "père Marx" (father Marx !), as they respectfully

called the 29-year-old, not only an astute adviser in political questions, but also a friend to whom they could bring their troubles and needs.

Marx considered that his work for the strengthening of the League of Communists during these months was bound up with the approaching European revolution, especially with the bourgeois-democratic revolution that was on the agenda in Germany. In historical materialism the key had been found to a correct understanding of every historical epoch ; now it was necessary to apply its principles to a concrete historical situation, to the contemporary scene. That was a difficult task, but its solution was indispensable if the young League of Communists and the entire working class were to be armed with a scientific strategy and tactics for the coming test, for the revolution. Even the most correct scientific ideas would be of little use if they could not be quickly spread and publicized among the workers, if the Communist movement did not succeed in creating a public organ. Such a public outlet was more sorely missed than ever before. But an attempt to put out a monthly journal failed because of a shortage of money.

In this situation Marx and his friends were successful in winning a decisive influence over the democratically oriented *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* in the late summer of 1847. In this four-page all-round paper that appeared twice weekly and was smuggled across the border into Germany in various ways, Marx and Engels published a series of articles in the months that followed in which they developed their conception of the coming struggle. Under their influence, the paper became more and more an organ of the League of Communists.

Marx based himself in his articles on the need to overthrow the outmoded feudal order in Germany by revolutionary methods and to establish a bourgeois-democratic system. It was necessary to recognize clearly, he told the workers, that the bourgeoisie wanted to use the proletariat only as cannon-fodder in its struggle against feudalism. Yet the workers should not

allow themselves to be led by emotions, by their highly justified hatred of the bourgeoisie, but only by their scientific knowledge of the course of history. The experiences in England and France had clearly shown " that the rule of the bourgeoisie not only puts new weapons into the hands of the proletariat *against* the bourgeoisie, but also provides it with a quite different position "[63] in society. Therefore the working class, by its help for the bourgeoisie, fights to abolish feudalism and to win fundamental bourgeois-democratic rights like freedom of the press, trial by jury, freedom of assembly, freedom of organization and popular representation, and thus indirectly also fights for its own proletarian interests. Even more : where the bourgeoisie, out of fear of the popular masses, wavered in the confrontation with feudal authority, the workers, and the communists at their head, had to prove themselves as the most determined fighters for democracy and to find ways of bringing the bourgeois democrats into joint activity with them.

At the same time, of course, the working class had tasks and aims which went far beyond the bourgeois revolution. All the problems of the working class and the labouring masses, Marx explained to the workers, would by no means be solved in the bourgeois republic. For the workers it was necessary, in the struggle for democratic institutions, to create the conditions for the socialist transformation of society. With these proposals Marx, tirelessly supported as always by Engels, emphasized the close connection between the struggle for democracy and for socialism, a principle that today, as then, belongs to the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary workers' party.

While publicizing these ideas in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung,* Marx and his co-workers began to work for the creation of a joint front of communists and bourgeois democrats. His first step was to join the Brussels " Association democratique " (Democratic Association), in which proletarian revolutionaries and petty-bourgeois democrats joined forces. The extent to which he was esteemed as a consistent fighter for democratic rights

and freedoms was shown when he was elected vice-president of the Association on November 15. Alongside him on the presidium there were famous revolutionaries and democrats from Belgium and France, as well as the well-known democratic Polish historian and politician, Joachim Lelewel.

Marx devoted much time and work to the building up of the Democratic Association. He looked upon it as a practical instrument with which to bring together all the currents of the democratic, anti-feudal movement and to give them a direction and a goal. He helped win new members, assisted in the preparations for an international congress of democrats planned for 1848, and organized collaboration with a democratic London society, the Fraternal Democrats, with which he had established personal contacts in the summer of 1845. Thanks to his aid, the Brussels Democratic Association in a short time developed into an organization that, though still small in numbers, was an important stronghold of the international democratic movement.

The Prussian, Belgian and Austrian governments followed the growth of the democratic society, and especially Marx's activity, with increasing suspicion. Nothing was more dangerous for their anti-popular policy than the joining together of the communists and the bourgeois democrats in a common front. The government in Berlin intensified its efforts to have the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* suppressed and to force Marx's expulsion from Belgium.

In the last months of 1847 Marx's revolutionary activities were at a higher level than ever before. Although he was literally weighed down by his organizational and propagandistic duties in the communist and democratic movement in Brussels, he did not neglect the preparations for the decisive second congress of the Communist League. In an exchange of views with Engels by correspondence—the latter was still in Paris—he dealt with the drafting of the League's program that was to be debated in London. Engels worked out a draft that he discussed with the Paris communists. On November 27 he brought it with

him to Ostend, where he met Marx. The document was called "Principles of Communism." From Ostend the two travelled together to London, Marx as delegate from Brussels, Engels as representative of the Paris circle of the Communist League. This time Marx was able to raise the money for the trip to the League's congress himself, although only after embarrassing requests to relatives for assistance. On November 28 Marx and Engels, filled with high hopes, reached London, where the delegates of the League's members in Germany, France, Switzerland, Belgium, and other countries were gathering. On November 29 the first international congress of the revolutionary proletariat opened. It lasted almost two weeks. Since most of the delegates were forced to work for their daily bread during the day, the congress deliberations could take place only in the evening.

The party program occupied the centre of attention. Marx and Engels put forward their draft, which summed up the principles of scientific communism. They gave a detailed explanation for their views and laid them before the worker-delegates for discussion. The participants in the congress were won over by the logic of the Marxist approach. It conformed fully to their own practical experiences. After a thorough debate spread over eight evenings, all the delegates supported the programmatic and tactical principles presented by Marx and Engels, as well as the statutes already submitted to the first congress of the League. The statutes were endorsed unanimously. Marx and Engels were authorized to "draw up for publication a detailed theoretical and practical program of the Party."[64]

With these measures the founding of the Communist League, the first revolutionary party of the working class, was completed.

For Marx and Engels that signified the triumph of their long years of ideological and organizational work to convince the proletariat of the necessity of having an independent political party, and to create such a party. This goal expressed Marx's aspirations. A few years before his death Engels wrote,

in refutation of distortions of his and Marx's fundamental viewpoint about the party of the working class : " In order that the proletariat be strong enough to conquer on the day of decision, it is necessary—and Marx and I have said so since 1847—that the proletariat create a special party, distinct from all others and ranged against them, a class-conscious party."[65] This important conception became a pillar of Marxism, a precondition for its worldwide victory.

No matter how small the Communist League was—it had 500 members at most—Marx saw clearly, and reaffirmed it repeatedly later, that with the League the foundation stone had been laid for the entire future history of the revolutionary working class. The League was, in accordance with its program and its membership, an international organization of the working class, and at the same time the first German workers' party. Its adherents were primarily German workers, proletarian journeymen, and representatives of the revolutionary intellectuals who approved the standpoint of the working class. That was not accidental, since Germany in the 1840's was the junction of the social, political and national contradictions of Europe. Thus, with the founding of the Communist League, there began the history of the party of the German working class.

During his stay in London in November—December 1847, Marx took an active part in the public political life of the English capital. He heeded the same principle here as everywhere else : " Science should not be an egoistic pleasure ; those who are so fortunate as to be able to dedicate themselves to scientific ends should also be the first to put their knewledge in the service of mankind."[66]

With the leaders of the Chartists, Marx discussed problems of the English and the international working class. With the fraternal democrats, he consulted about still closer collaboration with the Brussels Democratic Association and the calling of an international democratic congress for the autumn of 1848.

Together with Engels he took part in November 29 in a

meeting of democrats of many nations, on the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the Polish uprising of 1830. At this meeting Marx raised his voice against the feudal and bourgeois policy of national oppression and war. He emphasized the historic mission of the proletariat, which alone could abolish the exploitation and oppression of the peoples and ban war from their lives forever. He declared : " The victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie is at the same time the victory over the national and industrial conflicts that today set the various peoples against each other in hostility. The victory of the proletariat over the bourgeois is therefore at the same time the signal of the emancipation of all oppressed nations."[67] Thus, at the very cradle of the revolutionary party of the working class, Marx showed that peace and socialism are indissolubly connected, that no other class so consistently fights for a peaceful future for its nation and all the peoples as the proletariat.

The members of the Communist Workers' Educational Association, a legal organization set up in London in 1840 by the League of the Just, also received Marx with warm sympathy. As a delegate to the congress he reported on his work and on the activity of the German Workers' association in Brussels.

In the London association Marx encountered views that communism had its origins in Christianity, as Weitling had claimed. Marx explained the historical character and function of religion to the workers and acquainted them with the critical modern research on religion and atheistic literature in Germany. In this manner he led them to dialectical materialism, without in any way vulgarizing the problem.

Among his listeners there was a journeyman tailor, Friedrich Lessner, later a close friend of Marx. Lessner described his impressions during these days as follows : " Marx was then still a young man. He was about 28 years old, yet he impressed us all deeply. He was of middle height, broad-shouldered, had a powerful build and an energetic bearing. His forehead was high and finely shaped, his hair thick and raven black, his look piere-

ing. His mouth already showed the sarcastic pull that his opponents so feared. Marx was born to be a people's leader. His speech was short, concise, with an overwhelming logic. He used no superfluous words. Every sentence was a thought, and every thought a necessary link in the chain of his argumentation. There was nothing dreamy about Marx. The more I realized the difference between the communism of the Weitling period and of the Communist Manifesto, the clearer it became to me that Marx represented the maturity of socialist thought."[68]

The Birth Certificate of Scientific Communism

After the conclusion of the second congress of the Communist League, Marx returned to Brussels in December and Engels to Paris. Their task —the joint working out of the program of the League—was hindered by the distance between them. Thus it came about that Marx received a reminder from the central leadership in London at the end of January 1848 to send the manuscript as quickly as possible, otherwise "further measures would be taken against him."[60] At precisely that moment, however, the precious manuscript was already on its way to London. It was printed there in a small printshop in Bishopsgate, 46 Liverpool Street. Friedrich Lessner made the necessary arrangements, Karl Schapper read the proofs, and at the end of February the small, unpretentious-looking 23-page

brochure appeared : *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*—Manifesto of the Communist Party. Only a few hundred copies were available for the organizations of the Communist League, to be passed on from hand to hand. And yet, with this little booklet, Marx and Engels had produced a work that made history, in the truly literal sense, like no other, a work that has shown its vitality ever since, and continues to show it daily in our own times.

What gave this little work such world historical significance ?

The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was the first programmatic document of scientific communism. Marx and Engels formulated in it, in masterful language, everything that they had absorbed in scientific knowledge and practical experiences between 1843 and 1848, including the experiences of the whole working class. They presented in the Manifesto a compressed, systematic exposition of the foundations of their theory : dialectical materialism, political economy, the teachings of class struggle and scientific socialism. In contradiction to the lies and slanders, the fairy tales and utopias about communism, they boldly and publicly announced the historical role of the working class, the direction and the goal of its struggle.

" A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of communism. All the powers of old Europe have banded together in a holy crusade against this spectre—the pope and the czar, Metternich and Guizot, French radicals and German police . . .

" Two conclusion emerge from this fact.

" Communism is already recognized as a force by all the European powers.

" It is high time that Communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery-tale of the Spectre of Communism with a Manifesto of the party itself."[70]

With these impressive words Marx and Engels opened their programmatic work.

In the first chapter of the Manifesto they showed the decisive,

forward-thrusting role of the class struggle in human history. They showed that capitalism, at the outset, transformed the life of society in a revolutionary manner in the struggle against feudalism, that it began as progressive, but that now it was destined to become more and more of a brake on social development. Economic crises and wars, in which productive forces were destroyed *en masse*, had demonstrated that convincingly.

Marx and Engels then analyzed the essence of capitalist wage slavery and the individual stages in the struggles of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. They showed that with the development of capitalist industry the proletariat of necessity also grows, and the antagonism and class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie sharpens. The bourgeoisie, with iron inevitability, produces its own gravediggers. The proletariat organizes itself in the class struggle. It develops politically and becomes conscious of the potential and power that lies in its revolutionary unity. Finally, the development of the class struggle leads to the fact that the civil war, which in capitalist society is more or less concealed, " breaks out into open revolution and . . . the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat."[71]

In this manner Marx and Engels, in the Manifesto, showed the working class the inevitability of the defeat of capitalism. Above all, however, they showed the working class it had the duty of girding itself for the revolutionary struggle against capital and of overthrowing the bourgeoisie. They described the road to be followed and the methods to be used by the working class in founding its rule and fulfilling its mission as the creator of socialist and communist society.

Marx and Engels taught that " the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class,"[72] which meant the conquest of political power. At the same time they emphasized the genuinely democratic character of this " raising of the proletariat to the position of ruling

class " and described it as winning " the battle of democracy "[73], as the rule of the masses of the working population over a small minority of exploiters. As Lenin later wrote, Marx and Engels thus developed " one of the most remarkable and most important ideas of Marxism on the subject of the state, namely, the idea of the ' dictatorship of the proletariat '."[74]

But for what end must the working class use state power ? Marx and Engels declared with emphasis in the Manifesto : " The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i. e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class, and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible."[75] They put before the workers, above all, the necessity of using state power with determination, and of giving wholehearted support to the measures of their state. It was especially important to pay the greatest attention to the measures in the economic field, because these were decisive for the consolidation of the proletarian state. Production on the land and in industry had to be increased by all available means. That demanded action " in accordance with a common plan."[76]

At the same time Marx and Engels warned the working class that with the economic transformation, revolutionary changes must follow in the cultural and ideological life of society. The proletariat must abolish the educational privileges of the ruling class and associate the upbringing of the children with participation in material production. " The communist revolution," the two friends wrote, " is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations ; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas."[77]

The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* thus put before the working class the great mission of fundamentally transforming the material and intellectual life of society and building socialism. " In place of the old bourgeois society with its classes and class antagonism," Marx and Engels predicted, " we shall have

an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."[78] A new epoch opens up for humanity with socialism, the epoch in which the human being can for the first time be truly human.

Marx and Engels assessed this epoch, in which the tone is set by the rule of the working class and the working masses, as a new age for the development of peoples and nations. With the conquest of political power, the proletariat advances itself to "a national class."[79] It takes over the leadership of the nation and imbues it with a completely new, optimistic perspective. "In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."[80] On the basis of their scientific investigation of the past and the present, Marx and Engels forecast that in a socialist world there will be no bloody wars between the peoples such as are caused by capitalism. The working class will bring mankind eternal peace. The communists thus demonstrate that they are true patriots and true sons of their peoples.

Marx and Engels underscored, in the Manifesto, the standpoint they had already implemented in practice : that the working class needs an ideologically enlightened, disciplined and well-organized party if it is to measure up to its responsibility before history and the nation. The party is itself a part of the working class, for the communists "have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole."[81] But the party must unite in its ranks the best elements and qualities of the working class. It is the organized and conscious advance guard of the proletarian masses that is in the van of the struggle and leads the class. The revolutionary workers' party can do that because it has "over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."[82]

If the party of the working class wishes to lead the proletariat successfully, then it must never seal itself off in sectarian fashion, but must be closely bound to the masses, must base itself

on them and learn from their experiences. At the same time, the party must combat bourgeois ideology and its influences on the working class. For that reason the Manifesto, with wit and sarcasm, criticized the various forms of bourgeois ideology and the outmoded, unscientific socialist and communist " theories " and " systems."

The creators of the Manifesto also showed that the workers of all lands, confronted by the same situation, and therefore sharing common interests and goals, inevitably need common action and solidarity. The Manifesto therefore emphasized that the Communists, " in the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, . . . point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality."[83] Marx and Engels, with special emphasis, showed the necessity of guarding the unity of the proletarian movement, and of coalescing the tasks of the proletariat of a single country and the general aims of the international workers' movement. That is why the communists fight " for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class ; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement."[84]

Finally, Marx and Engels dealt in the Manifesto with the revolutionary problems which had to be solved in Germany. They underlined the duty of communists to support " every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things."[85]

They wrote : " In Germany, they fight with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy and the petty bourgeoisie. But they never cease, for a single instant, to instil into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat . . . in order that, after the fall of the reactionary classes in Germany, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself may immediately begin."[86]

Thus Marx and Engels gave the German working class the guide-lines for their approaching revolutionary struggles.

They at all times saw the German revolution as part of the over-all revolutionary movement in Europe. They hoped at that time that a revolution would break out in England with a proletarian character, and that a revolutionary wave in France would soon lead to the rule of the working class and the middle class. Under such conditions, they expected that the approaching bourgeois revolution in Germany could be " the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution."[87] This view turned out to be premature, for the level of economic development in 1848 was, as Engels later wrote, " not yet ripe enough by far," even in the most advanced European countries, " for the abolition of capitalist production."[88] Nevertheless, these theoretical thoughts of Marx and Engels were of permanent value for the future strategy of the international workers' movement.

Every line of the fascinating, impressively written Manifesto was imbued with an open partisanship and revolutionary passion. The final sentences of this program of struggle were like a trumpet fanfare : " Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite ! "[89]

The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was the birth certificate of scientific communism. Its creators were sons of the German people.

Marx and Engels had absorbed the latest findings of international science in the field of philosophy, political economy, historiography, as well as socialism and communism. They had critically analyzed the most advanced ideas in these fields in terms of history and contemporary social practice. They had at the same time carried forward the best humanist, scientific and revolutionary traditions of the German people. In this forward-moving process of discovery, they had developed views which

for the first time created a scientific basis for the most varied branches of knowledge. Through exact scientific proof, they had also raised revolutionary theory to a completely new level. These world-transforming views received their classical expression in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

Chapter III

1848–1849

The Revolution Breaks Out

At the end of February 1848, as the first copies of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* were coming from the presses, the news of the outbreak of the revolution in Paris reached Marx in Brussels and the leaders of the Communist League in London. Friedrich Lessner, one of the pioneers of the German workers' movement, wrote about that unforgettable day a decade later : " I am not able to describe the tremendous impact this report had on us. A frenzy of enthusiasm seized us. Only one feeling, one thought filled us : to devote life and possessions to the emancipation of mankind ! "[1]

As in London, so in Brussels. Here too the news that the proletariat had overthrown the " King of the Bankers," Louis Philippe, fired the imagination. The popular masses, despite gen-

darmeric and the military, took possession of the streets and squares. " People cried, *Vive la République*, sang the Marseillaise, pushed, pulled and were pushed "[2]—so wrote Engels, who had been expelled from Paris at the end of January and was now once again in Brussels. At last the day had come—the day so longed for by Marx and his comrades—when the popular masses determined to act, and the pillars of reaction began to crumble.

Marx pounced on all the newspapers he could lay hands on, followed the latest reports out of Paris closely, corresponded and consulted with the organizations of the Communist League, as well as with his friends among the bourgeois democrats. He studied every report out of Germany or about Germany with impatience and anticipation.

He was not surprised at the outbreak of the revolution. He had long prophesied it, and had prepared for it together with Engels. But now that it had come, it became clear very quickly that the revolutionary movement had its special aspects in every land, and that to overlook these could be catastrophic for the revolution.

In the Italian principalities the people—mostly with weapons in their hands—had been able to force bourgeois-liberal constitutions from their monarchs. In Paris, the people succeeded in winning the proclamation of a republic in armed battles on the barricades. Though the French workers, filled with illusions, imagined they had achieved a " social republic," it was in reality only a bourgeois republic, as the Paris proletariat was all too soon to learn. At the end of February the revolutionary movement also began to grip the southern and middle-German states, Hungary, Bohemia and Poland. In the course of a few weeks it took on a European character.

But reaction did not rest. Marx was to learn that on his own skin. While the Belgian bourgeoisie negotiated with the king, the latter had his troops surround the capital and sent them with armed violence against the popular masses. The government

especially sought to provoke the foreigners living in Brussels, primarily the German workers and political emigrants. Wilhelm Wolff was arrested without any grounds being given, was mishandled and expelled.

In the light of such developments, the German emigrants in Brussels, communists as well as democrats, began to close ranks even more firmly with the Belgian democrats in joint actions. Marx, who only a few days previously had at last received a substantial sum of money as an inheritance from his father, contributed thousands of francs for the arming of the workers in Brussels. He did it with the full agreement of his wife, who now, after years of bitter poverty, finally hoped for material security but did not hesitate to sacrifice personal interests to the needs of the revolutionary movement.

Along with his activity in the Democratic Association, Marx's main energy was required by the Communist League. On February 27 he received a communication from the central bureau of the League in London that, in view of the revolutionary events on the Continent, they had transferred their authority to the district leadership in Brussels. Marx and Engels thus took over the direct leadership of the Communist League at the beginning of the revolution. Marx immediately summoned the members of the leadership and consulted with them about the next steps to be taken.

Now events piled one on the other. At the beginning of March Marx received a respectful invitation from the provisional republican government: "Brave, upright Marx—the soil of the French Republic is a free state for all friends of freedom. Tyrannical power expelled you; free France opens its gates to you again."[3] With everything pulling him to Paris, to the showplace of the revolution, Marx accepted the invitation.

On March 3, on precisely the day the invitation from Paris arrived, Marx received an order from the Belgian police, in the late afternoon, to leave the country within 24 hours. The members of the just constituted central bureau of the Communist

League met at once at Marx's home, turned over all its powers to him, and authorized him to set up a new central bureau in Paris. As they left the house, the police forced their way in and arrested Marx. The police outrages that followed were described by Marx a few days later in a French newspaper :

" On March 3, after I had received an order at five o'clock in the afternoon to leave the Belgian *kingdom* within 24 hours, and was occupied that same night with preparations for my journey, a police commissar forced his way into my home accompanied by ten police, ransacked the whole house, and then took me into custody on the pretence that I had no papers . . .

" Immediately after my arrest, my wife visited the president of the Democratic Society of Belgium, Monsieur Jottrand, to arrange for him to start the necessary proceedings. On her return, she found a policeman at the door of our home. With exquisite politeness he declared she had only to follow him if she desired to speak to Herr Marx. My wife accepted the invitation willingly. She was taken to the police headquarters, and there the Commissar at first declared Herr Marx was not there. Then he asked her roughly who she was, what business she had with Herr Jottrand, and whether she had her papers with her . . . On the pretext of vagabondage, my wife was taken to the city council prison and locked up with prostitutes in a dark room. At eleven o'clock in the morning, in the full light of day, she was led behind an escort of gendarmes to the office of the investigating judge. For two hours, despite the sharpest protest from all sides, she was kept in isolation. There she remained, despite the inclement weather and the coarsest jests of the gendarmes.

" She appeared at last before the investigating judge, who was quite astonished that the police had not, in its generosity, also taken the small children into its custody. The examination could not be anything but a farce and the sum and substance of my wife's crime was that, despite her membership in the Prussian aristocracy, she shared the democratic views of her husband.

" I don't wish to go into all the details of this scandalous affair. I only wish to mention that after our release, the 24 hours had expired, and we had to leave without being able to take even the simplest necessities with us."[4]

On his arrival in Paris, Marx immediately sought out his friends living there. He was rather surprised at the " revolutionary intoxication " that had gone to the heads of some of them and had seduced them into dangerous revolutionary posturing. Driven by impatience and home-sickness, they felt the revolution in Germany was not going ahead fast enough. Many German workers and artisans supported the slogan of petty-bourgeois democrats like Bornstedt and Herwegh, who called on the emigrants to set up volunteer corps and carry freedom to Germany on the points of their bayonets. They banded together in an organization, the German Democratic Society, set up a German Legion and prepared themselves for a military sortie into Germany. Marx opposed these adventurist plans, even though some accused him of cowardice. On March 6 he spoke on the subject to a meeting of German workers. Sebastian Seiler, then a member of the Communist League and an acquaintance of Marx, wrote later :

" The socialists and communists spoke out firmly against every armed intervention for a German Republic from outside. They held open meetings in the Rue St. Denis, attended also by some of the future volunteer corps. At one of these meetings Marx, in a long address, developed the theme that the February revolution could only be considered as a preliminary to the European movement. In a short time the open struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie would break out here in Paris, which was confirmed in June. The victory or defeat of revolutionary Europe would depend on the outcome of this struggle."[5] In Germany also, Marx was certain, the inner contradictions between the hostile classes would lead to a revolutionary rising of the people. This approaching revolutionary outbreak would only be endangered by an armed intrusion from without, for

German reaction would immediately exploit such an intervention for nationalist purposes and for its counter-revolutionary interests.

On March 8, on Marx's initiative, the four Paris branches of the Communist League decided to organize a public Club of German Workers, as a counter-weight to the German Democratic Society. On March 9 Marx submitted a draft of statutes for the Club.

In the meantime, Schapper, Moll and Heinrich Bauer arrived from London, and Wilhelm Wolff and the typesetter Karl Wallau from Brussels. On March 10, together with Marx and Engels, they constituted themselves as the new central bureau of the Communist League. Marx was named president and Schapper secretary. Engels, who was still in Brussels, was appointed to the central bureau. On March 21 he also arrived in Paris.

The members of the central bureau met almost daily to discuss their next moves. Great attention was devoted to Germany and to its two largest states, Prussia and Austria. At last came the news : on March 13 the working people of Vienna had taken to the barricades. The hated Chancellor Metternich was overthrown and saved his life only by flight. The Hapsburg king was forced to set up a Ministry of bourgeois liberals.

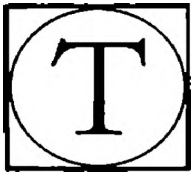
The revolutionary battles reached their climax a few days later, on March 18, in the streets of Berlin. After a bitter 16-hour street fight Berlin's workers, artisans, petty-bourgeois and students triumphed over the king's " grand army." They showed that the popular masses can accomplish anything when they are united and act with determination.

Although the king had thrown *élite* troops into the battle, unprecedented courage was shown expecially by the workers, who made up the great majority of the barricade fighters. They launched many counter-attacks, overran even cannon and used the night of March 19 to strengthen their positions. Their stubborn resistance led soldiers to refuse to obey their officers in some cases. Steadfast in the face of all the efforts of the court

to trick them, the barricade fighters demanded the complete withdrawal of the military from Berlin. Their determination made it necessary for the king to withdraw his troops from the city on March 19. Even more, on the same day the victorious people carried their dead into the palace grounds and forced the king, normally so haughty, to bow before the fallen barricade fighters with bare head. That symbolized the great defeat that feudal Prussia had suffered at the hands of the revolutionary masses.

The battles on the Berlin barricades of March 18 were the climax of the revolution in Germany. In panic and fright, the Hohenzollern king said Prussia would dissolve into Germany, and reiterated his earlier promises to introduce liberal reforms. A new Ministry, headed by the Rhineland bankers and industrialists, Camphausen and Hansemann, was set up before the end of March.

The National Program of Action



ime was now precious for the German revolutionaries who had been driven into exile. The revolution, they believed, must be prevented from coming to a standstill after its first successes. Everything, so Marx saw the situation, depended on the extent to which the revolutionary movement could be carried forward. As long as the three dozen feudal princes were not overthrown ; as long as the great landowners were not dispossessed ; as long as the territorial fragmentation was not set aside ; as long as the main tasks of the revolution were not solved ; as long as the undivided democratic German Republic was not brought into being—so long would the other achievements of revolutionary Vienna and Berlin, won through many sacrifices, remain in jeopardy.

Karl Marx in 1861

Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

Organ der Demokratie.

№ 1. Köln, Donnerstag, 1. Juni 1848.

Die „Neue Rheinische Zeitung" erscheint vom 1. Juni an täglich.
Der Abonnementspreis beträgt: Für das Vierteljahr in Köln 1 Thlr. 15 Sgr.; für alle übrigen Orte Preußens 2 Thlr. 1 Sgr. 9 Pf. Kaiserlich Preußens mit Zuschlag des fremden Zeitungsporto's.
Das Abonnement für den Monat Juni kann nur unter gleichzeitiger Bestellung des nächsten Vierteljahr (Juli, August, September) geschehen. Der Preis setzt sich wie folgt zusammen: Abonnement beträgt: Für Köln 2 Thlr.; außerdem 2 Thlr. 25 Sgr.
Man abonnirt bei allen Postanstalten und Buchhandlungen des In- und Auslandes; — für Köln in der Expedition der Zeitung bei
Hrn. W. Clouth, St. Agnetha 12, Köln.
Fernere Ankündigungen werden morgen genommen in der Expedition der Zeitung. Ausländische werden gebeten, sich ebenfalls derselben franco zu wenden.

Insertionsgebühren.
Für die vierspaltige Petitzeile oder deren Raum . . . 1 Sgr. 6 Pf.
Die Expedition der „Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung."

Das Erscheinen der Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung war ursprünglich auf den ersten Juli festgesetzt. Die Arrangements mit den Correspondenten ꝛc. waren auf diesen Termin gerichtet.

Da jedoch bei dem erneuten rechten Auftreten der Reaktion deutsche Septembergesetze in naher Aussicht stehen, so haben wir jeden freien Tag benutzen wollen, und erscheinen schon mit dem ersten Juni. Unsre Leser werden es uns also nachsehen müssen, wenn wir in den ersten Tagen an Nachrichten und mannigfaltigem Correspondenzer noch nicht das reichhaltige Material liefern wozu unsre ausgedehnten Verbindungen uns befähigen. In wenig Tagen werden wir auf Hertz allen Anforderungen genügen können.

Redaktions-Comité.
Karl Marx, Redakteur en Chef.
Heinrich Bürgers,
Ernst Dronke,
Friedrich Engels,
Georg Weerth,
Ferdinand Wolff,
Wilhelm Wolff,
Redakteure.

Inhaltsübersicht.

Deutschland. Aus der Frankfurter Versammlung. — Ribbert (Gumbel Erklärung. — Preußische Aktenstücke. — Polen. — Berlin (Kabinetsfrage.) — Breslau (zur Nationalversammlung). — Wien (neue Ministerien).
Belgien. Belgisch (die belgische Konstitution).
Italien. Verona (zum Kriegsschauplatz). — Genua (Revolution) ꝛc.

Expeditionsbericht.

Humoristische Skizzen aus dem deutschen Handelsleben.

Von Georg Weerth.

Der Herr Preß in Köln.

Wiederum haben wir im Comptoire des Herrn Preß, Nachlieb Sucht des Morgens durch jene grobe, schlechtsinnige Ansicht der Unterschiedlichkeit der Schreibmaschine, Unstetigkeit, Kehrwischer, Gleichheit und ähnliche konstitutive Individuenrechte schwimmen in jeder der Gemüthlichkeit unsers Polizeiraths und Propaeteus, Herr, Unterpräsident Dronke anwesend und Preß und Preß bei Schubladen und Schubkasten und Kopfen hinein und heraus.

Redaktion.

„Das Inhaltsverzeichniß ist ihr schlecht gemacht," seufzt endlich der Herr Preß.

„Sehr schlecht!" erwiedert der ältere Buchhalter mit unterwürfigstem Nachdruck.

Neuer Herr Preß . . . Er war erkenntlich magen geworden, unbeweglich magen, der jetzt in Sanssouci residirt, der bonischen Mamm. Die Sachen, unternommenen Entfernungen hatten alles Mang verloren, Schneider alle Kraft und die Bäuche der Bäuche, und kaum noch so hoch wie vom Schwarze Mann, ist doch jetzt, in verhältniß hoch und der Bäuche und Kopfkissen. Da von Kindern der ehemaligen Handelsbäuche, der nicht so ungeschickt, auch vor dem 24. Februar und der Blute des kaufmännischen oder Schandeln gegen, ich man auch erst recht, welche Konsolidirungen sich gegenüber. Die Hose war voller Falten . . . Wahrscheinlichsteine Rückkehr Schwarzen, der Herr Preß habe vor geographischen Meilen verlieren, im Durchmesser.

„Wer weiß, ob Zeiten auch noch so schlecht sein, die Europäer in ein gebrochenes?" sagte der Herr Preß zu dem Buchhalter Seit. Buchhalter sag zu dem seiner Chamme.

„Ja, Gott und?" seufzte Buchhalter . . . „wieder die schwarzgelben Mistelbeere a Centnerl haben mit jetzt Tage."

Also kam Geschäftsrath der Preußischen Adlige, so folgte die Kaiserrat und Buchhalterei vom Kontrolle und Fonglomeh.

Der Buchhalter fing bei mit Sohn an Herrn, monopolirtem Geschäftsrath. Preß (Mitglied von Preußen) — Herzogtheile der Mitglieder. — Gemeinden für der Nationalversammlung. — Gerichtsbarkeit über eine neue Manufaktur in Wesel.

Engelbert. Kontor (Wendeln, Kaiser, Dunn. — Wilhelm Kontor (Kriegsrath).

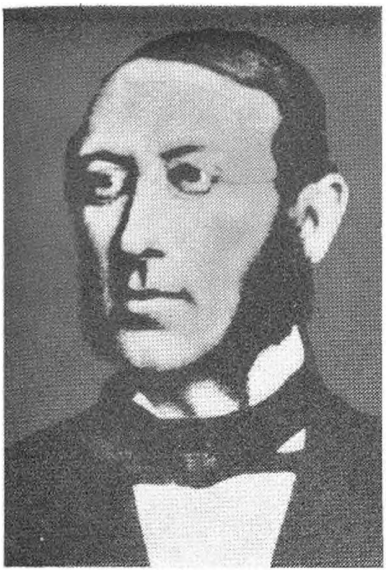
Hundertfünf- und Kaiserrat-Artikel.

Amtliche Nachrichten.

Der Kaiserliche Prinz-Doktor, Dr. jur. Herrmann, ist gestern nach vorausgegangenen Gerichtsfrist in der jüngsten Gerichtsfrist der Kaiserlichen Universität erkannt worden.

Bekanntmachung.

Am Mittwochen den Dienstag, nachdem die Kaiserrat aus der jüngsten Gerichtsfrist [illegible] Kaiserrat, [illegible] Kaiserrat [illegible] Kaiserrat [illegible] Kaiserrat

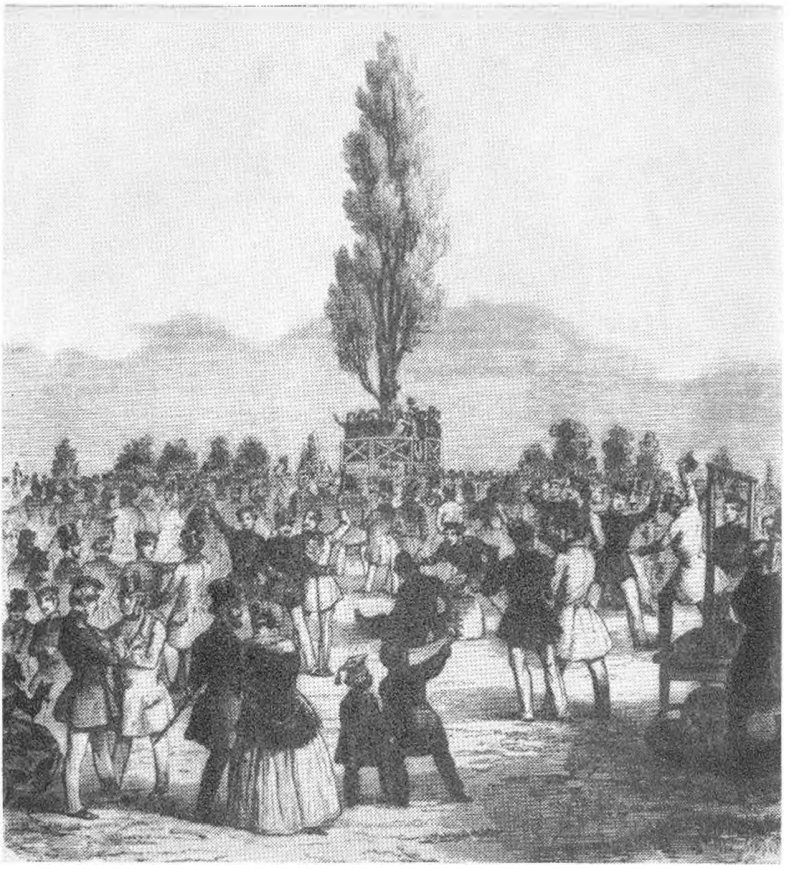


Georg Weerth

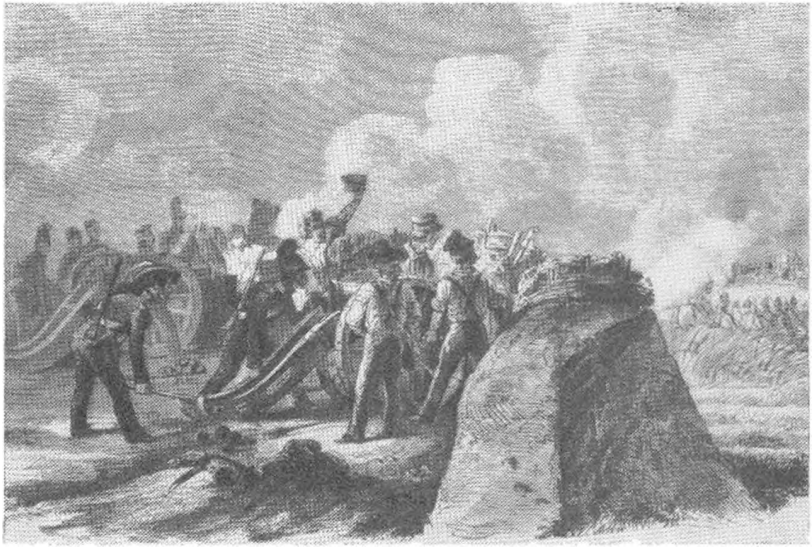
Ferdinand Freiligrath

Ernst Dronke

Heinrich Bürgers

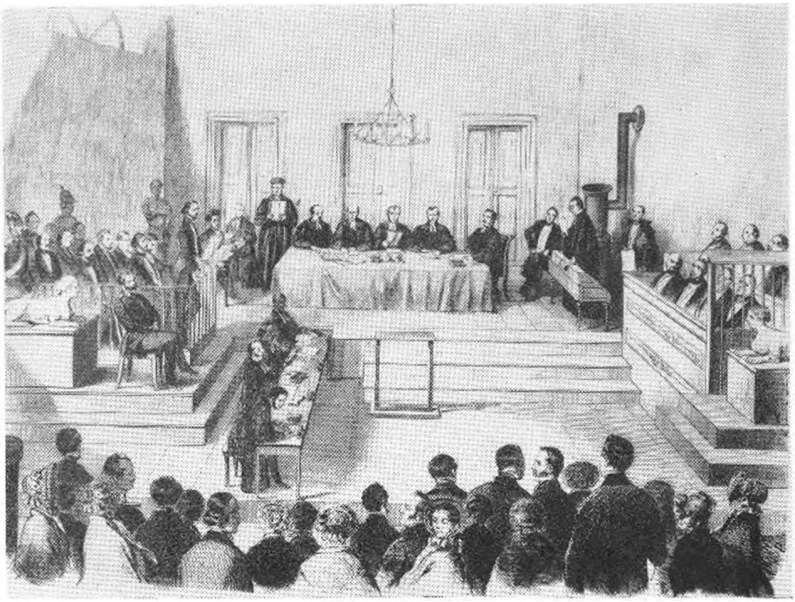


Public meeting at the *Einsame Pappel* (lone poplar) in Berlin in the summer of 1848



Gun emplacements of the Baden people's army near Kuppenheim in June 1849

The London City in 1851



The Communist trial before the Cologne jury court in October and November 1852

The reading-room of the British Museum in London

The first reports out of Berlin had already convinced Marx how widespread the illusions were among the lower bourgeoisie and the workers about what they had already achieved, especially about the new Ministry of the big bourgeoisie. These illusions were all the more dangerous, since the big bourgeoisie, brought to power in the first place by the popular masses, now showed itself ready for immediate compromise with the feudal power out of fear of the same popular masses. The need of the hour was a program that could be put into the hands of the revolutionary masses, and especially the class-conscious, awakening workers, a program that would give them a goal and a sense of direction in the events that piled one on top of the other, in the confusing cascade of bourgeois reforms and plans for " world improvement," and that would help them to separate friend from foe.

At the end of March Marx and Engels set themselves the task of drafting such a program, The *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany.* They based it on the strategic and tactical proposals they had already put before the German communists in the last chapter of the Communist Manifesto. These now had to be applied to the new situation created by the revolution.

The liberal bourgeoisie, in its programmatic declarations, asked only for an all-German constitutional monarchy with a bourgeois constitution, under Prussian leadership, and was willing to leave extensive sovereignty to the single states and their princes. The petty-bourgeois democrats wanted a German republic, but only in the form of a loose association of the many separate states. Marx and Engels, however, put at the head of their program the slogan : " All of Germany is declared to be a single, indivisible Republic."[6] This demand was directed primarily against the main centres of power of feudal reaction in Germany, Prussia and the Hapsburg Reich, the notorious " prison house of peoples " in Europe.

The liberal bourgeoisie, in all its statements, avoided every demand for the complete destruction of the power of the reac-

tionary large landowners and sought a peaceful "agreement" with the feudal authorities. The petty-bourgeois democrats did indeed demand freedom of the press, unhindered freedom of association, arming of the people and abolition of feudal relations, but in what way these relations and all feudal prerogatives should be abolished—on these questions they had no clear ideas. On these questions, only Marx and Engels gave a clear answer in their comprehensive, 17-point *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany.*

They described in it what measures the people must carry through to create the united, democratic republic. These included : the unrestricted right to vote, the right to be elected from the age of 21 on, financial compensation for the people's representatives so that workers could also sit in the German parliament, and above all, the arming of the people to enable them to put down the counter-revolution. In addition, every German should be guaranteed the same educational possibilities and equality before the law through the reconstruction of the educational and legal systems.

All these demands were designed to deprive the feudal classes of political power. That could only succeed, however, when the economic roots of the feudal system, especially the Prussian *Junker*-squirearchy, the social basis and the most powerful pillar of the Prussian state, were torn out. Therefore Marx and his comrades, in points 6 to 9 of their program, demanded the abolition without remuneration of all feudal burdens and the dispossession without compensation of all the large landowners. With this demand the Communists showed the peasants the road to their emancipation from feudal exploitation and at the same time endeavored to create a close alliance between the workers and the toiling peasants.

Finally, Marx and the leading members of the Communist League demanded that the mines, the private banks and all transport facilities be turned into state property, that is, be put into the hands of the revolutionary-democratic state. These

demands were aimed against " the rule of the moneymen,"[7] those liberals among the big bourgeoisie who were already striking bargains with feudal reaction and were beginning to hold back the revolution through their cowardice and renegacy.

A special concern of the Communists was the improvement of the social situation of the working class. For that purpose they demanded of the democratic state " the setting up of national factories," in which " the state guarantees a livelihood to all workers and cares for those unfit to work."[8]

With these 17 demands, Marx and Engels sought a democratic and revolutionary solution of all the tasks that confronted the bourgeois revolution in Germany. The demands reflected the interests of all the progressive classes striving for the progress of the bourgeois state. The program closed with these words : " It is in the interests of the proletariat, the small bourgeoisie and peasants to work with all their energy for the carrying through of these measures. Only with their implementation can the millions in Germany who were till now exploited by only a few, and whom the same few seek to keep in oppression, attain their rights and the power that belongs to them as the producers of all wealth."[9] With the implementation of the 17 demands, the future struggle of the proletariat for its liberation from *capitalist* exploitation and oppression would at the same time be prepared and made easier. Precisely that was the aim of Marx and Engels.

As spokesmen for the young working class, they explained in this manner why the fate and the prospering of the German nation depended on the development and consolidation of democracy. Through their clear program and their practical work they demonstrated that the Communists were also the best and firmest democrats. The 17 *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany* show that the class-conscious workers, in their first great historical test, fought for a policy that served not only the interests of the workers but of the entire people, while the bourgeoisie revealed itself as unfit to lead the nation.

During the hectic days in which Marx, supported by Engels, worked out the 17 demands, he also began to prepare the publishing of a newspaper in Germany. At the same time, with great energy, he organized the return to Germany of the League's members and the workers and artisans of the Club of German Workers. In contrast to the adventurist project of Bornstedt and Herwegh, Marx followed a plan under which the revolutionary workers went back to Germany singly. Subsequent events justified his position. Herwegh's volunteer troops were ambushed as soon as they crossed the border and were wiped out by a superior military force lying in wait for them. On the other hand, under the plan initiated by Marx, some 300—400 revolutionary workers were able by April to get back into their Fatherland unhindered, including the majority of the League's members. They were well armed—not with rifles or sabres, but with the Communist Manifesto, of which 1,000 copies of the second edition had reached Paris, and with the 17 " Demands of the Communist Party in Germany " printed as a leaflet.

They went back with instructions from Marx and the members of the central bureau to strengthen the existing branches of the League, to organize new ones, and to set up political workers' associations alongside the existing local branches. In this work they were to operate, not in illegality as before, but openly, in the sense of the Communist Manifesto and the 17 demands. With this tactic Marx's aim was to utilize the newly won freedoms and to unite the many local workers' groups in an all-German political workers' organization. Such an independent workers' organization would have the task of joining in an alliance with the democratic petty-bourgeoisie and to work as a force driving the revolutionary movement forwards. That could immensely strengthen the democratic popular movement.

After most of the revolutionary workers had gone, Marx and Engels also left Paris. They took with them Ernst Dronke, a young and talented publicist who, through the writings of Marx and Engels, had become acquainted with their ideas and

had joined the Communist League. On April 7 the party arrived in the German city of Mainz, where a League branch and a Workers' Association guided by the League had been set up. They consulted with the League members as to how the founding of other workers' associations in all parts of Germany could be speeded up. Mainz, however, was not considered suitable for the launching of the planned newspaper. For that reason Marx and Engels, and apparently Dronke also, continued on to Cologne.

The Germany that presented itself to them was a country in the grip of revolution. The people breathed easier. They felt themselves to be the victor. They were preparing everywhere for the election of a national German assembly, which was to meet in Frankfurt am Main in May. They looked to this all-German parliament to guarantee the rights they had already won in bloody revolutionary struggle.

The situation in Prussia was similar to that in all of Germany. But the big bourgeois-liberal Ministry of Camphausen and Hansemann was lulling the revolution instead of leading it forwards. It was forced to agree to a Prussian convention to produce a constitution, but it declared that the only task of this Prussian national assembly would be to " arrange " a constitution with the king.

Marx and Engels saw that the power of the reactionary feudal class and its royal representative had been weakened, but they did not by any means delude themselves that it had been smashed. The armies were still an available instrument in the hands of the princes. The government apparatus remained on without any significant change. The property and privileges of the greater and lesser potentates remained untouched. And that was all possible because the liberal big bourgeoisie considered that it had achieved its aims with its partnership in the state power. It made agreements openly now with the feudal class and turned against the forwards-moving democratic forces.

Engels characterized the results of the revolution to that

moment in Prussia in words that also applied to the whole of Germany : " On the one side, the arming of the people, the right of association, the *de facto* sovereignty of the people ; on the other side, the retention of the monarchy and the Ministry of Camphausen-Hansemann, that is, the government of the representatives of the big bourgeoisie. The revolution thus had a double outcome. The people had won, had conquered a freedom for themselves of a decisively democratic nature ; but the ruling power passed, not into their hands, but into the hands of the big bourgeoisie. In a word—the revolution was not finished."[10]

It had to be pushed further till a bourgeois-democratic development of the nation was not only hoped for by one side, or promised by the other, but was irrevocably guaranteed.

On April 11, 1848, Marx and Engels arrived in Cologne. Their choice of the Rhine metropolis was not accidental. The capital of the industrially most advanced Rhine province had also become a centre of the young working class movement. Marx had already worked as editor-in-chief of the *Rheinische Zeitung* here in Cologne. Here he could count on many friends and comrades who shared his views. Here there was also a strong organization of the Communist League, which had on March 3 already announced the demands of the proletariat in a great workers' demonstration before the city hall. Most important, the press in the Rhineland had the best working possibilities, thanks to the progressive bourgeois civil code in force in the province. Cologne therefore offered a specially suitable atmosphere for the work of the central bureau of the League and a revolutionary newspaper.

While Marx made his arrangements in Cologne, Jenny travelled to her mother in Trier with the three small children, to remain there until her husband had a residence permit. Under the pressure of the popular revolutionary movement, the new Prussian government of Camphausen-Hansemann had to set aside the decree on the hounding and arrest of German patriots. The Cologne city council, whether it liked it or not,

approved Marx's application for permission to settle in the city. Marx thereupon arranged for his family to join him there. But his application to have Prussian citizenship returned to him was dragged out by government officials with time-honored bureaucratic chicanery.

Marx let this matter rest for the time being, since he had his hands full with other things. Two main projects claimed his time and attention : the organizing of the planned newspaper, and the efforts, based on the branch of the Communist League, to create an all-German workers' party.

To push the second project, the central bureau sent its most capable members to the various centres of the workers' movement. Marx was thus separated from his most intimate friends for some time. Engels went to Elberfeld, Schapper to Mainz and Wiesbaden, Dronke to Koblenz, Kassel, Frankfurt and other localities. Wilhelm Wolff had already gone to Breslau via Mainz, Cologne, Hanover and Berlin. Georg Weerth, who had immediately hurried back to Germany after the victory of the March revolution, stayed on in Cologne to help Marx prepare the publication of the paper.

Marx waited eagerly to hear from these emissaries if the communists were being successful in winning the political leadership of the workers' associations, which had developed quickly and spontaneously in many places, and in leading the many local organizations to a national merger.

The letters that came in, and the reports of the friends who returned, soon led Marx to recognize that these hopes could not be fulfilled. The few hundred League members were lost in the great churning sea of the popular masses. The workers in almost all parts of Germany worked energetically in the democratic movement, but the great majority of the German proletarians, most of whom were still artisans, did not yet have sufficient political consciousness, and were still too inexperienced and unorganized, to recognize the necessity of having their own class organization, independent of bourgeois influences. The self-

sacrificing action of the few communists, therefore, could not in such a short time prepare the basis for a workers' organization stretching across all of Germany.

In view of this situation, Marx faced a difficult decision. On what should the League members and the class-conscious proletarians now base themselves ? If the conditions for the building of a broad, national, politically independent workers' organization had not yet matured, then only one alternative was left if the League was not to isolate itself from the working class and fall apart in sectarianism. That alternative was : to join the existing democratic movement and its organizations as their clearly delineated left wing. Only in this manner would it be possible to gain " the ear of the working class,"[11] of which the great majority was still completely under the influence of the petty-bourgeois democrats. Only in this manner would it also be possible to build a united front of all the anti-feudal forces against the counter-revolution.

Marx was soon to find that this urgently needed unity in action of all the democratic groups was threatened from within the working class itself. The Cologne Workers' Association, for example, founded on April 13, decided not to take part in the May elections for the convention that was to work out a constitution in Berlin and for the German National Assembly in Frankfurt am Main. The prime mover of this decision was the president of the Association, Dr. Gottschalk. He put forward the sectarian, ultra-revolutionary slogan that the workers must boycott the elections because these were being carried out under an undemocratic, indirect voting system. The Communists, of course, were also opposed to the indirect voting system, but they recognized that under no circumstances should the field be left alone to the reactionaries. Marx's followers in the Association therefore fought the sectarian standpoint of Dr. Gottschalk on the grounds that it held the workers back from the political struggle. In accordance with their program, the Communists called for participation in the voting and the election of demo-

cratic candidates, because that would strengthen the general democratic movement. The result was that many workers, despite the undemocratic and restricted voting procedure, did not allow themselves to be diverted from taking part in the elections for the German National Assembly and the Berlin Constituent Assembly at the beginning of May and from giving their votes to the democratic candidates.

Marx now recognized that the central bureau could not possibly give proper leadership to the Communists working in the separate parts of Germany with the methods used till then, namely, secret correspondents and individual emissaries. This strengthened his view that the projected newspaper had to be brought out as quickly as possible. He was determined to utilize the hard won freedom of the press, to join in the fight of all the democratic forces for the completion of the revolution with the help of the paper, to give this fight a goal and a direction, and to give leadership to the Communist League members working in various areas under completely different conditions. In short, the paper was to have the task of spreading among the people the proletarian program for the democratic revolution in Germany, the program outlined in the 17 *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany.*

Editor-in-Chief of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung

The founding of the newspaper was bound up with extraordinary difficulties. In the first place, there was insufficient money available. Thus the central bureau's representatives in various parts of Germany who were engaged in organizational work also had to raise money for the paper. But the workers and the proletarian journeymen had no money. And how many wealthy bourgeois liberals were prepared to advance money to the one-time chief editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung,* the author of militant proletarian books, for a revolutionary-democratic organ ?

Even Engels, who had many friends and acquaintances in Wuppertal, could record only limited success. " We can depend on damned few shares here," he reported to Marx from Barmen

on April 25. " Basically, the thing is that the radical bourgeois here also see in us their future arch-enemy and have no desire to put weapons in our hands that we would soon turn against them. It is impossible to wring anything out of my old man . . . Instead of 1,000 Thaler he would rather spray us with a thousand cannisters of grape-shot."[12]

The working capital for the paper was to be 30,000 Thaler. It was to be raised through shares priced at 50 Thaler. But by the end of May only 13,000 Thaler had been raised.

Marx tried to close the financial gap through the sale of subscriptions. Subcription lists were set out in the beer and wine taverns, with a special appeal to the workers and artisans. Large wall-posters also publicized the paper. In the end, however, Marx had to contribute a large sum once more from his inheritance, and it became possible at last, despite all the difficulties, for him and Engels to guarantee the appearance of the journal.

On the evening of May 31 the news-dealers of Cologne assembled in the editorial offices at Hutmacher 17, received the first number of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung—an Organ of Democracy,* dated June 1, 1848, and hurried off with it into the city. Marx could breathe more freely. But there was still much to do. Above all, it was necessary to win a respected place for the paper in the political life of Germany, as well as the recognition and support of all true revolutionaries. That was the kind of fight that Marx loved : with " open visor " he could now strike against the enemy of the people. Without the need of looking over his shoulder at the censor, he could call a spade a spade. He could show the popular masses the road along which their aspirations lay.

Marx headed the editorial staff as editor-in-chief. His collaborators were the most capable spokesmen of the communist movement, led by Engels, Marx's assistant on the editorial board, and from whose pen, especially at the beginning, most of the leading editorials came. Others included the loyal Wil-

helm Wolff, who worked as editorial secretary and wrote many articles, especially about agricultural problems ; Ernst Dronke, who for a time reported from Frankfurt on the parliamentary debates ; Ferdinand Wolff, who devoted himself to foreign questions, and Heinrich Bürgers. The editors also included two of the most significant revolutionary German poets : Georg Weerth and—from October 1848—Ferdinand Freiligrath, both of whom, in this period of revolutionary developments and in intimate daily collaboration with Marx, reached the peak of their creativity. Karl Schapper was proof-reader.

Most amazing of all was their youth. Marx had just turned thirty, Engels was not yet twenty-eight, and the oldest among them was not yet thirty-nine. They made up a corps of clever, courageous revolutionaries, already tested in many political battles.

Marx was the soul of the editorial board. His decisions, as Engels reported, were " taken for granted, uncontested," and were " willingly accepted by everyone." Engels added : " It was in the first place his clear view and his firm guidance that made the paper the most famous German organ of the revolutionary years."[13] Marx worked out the plan for each issue, gave out the assignments, sifted the incoming reports, fostered contacts with other progressive papers, edited a large portion of the manuscripts, and administered the finances. More than that, however, he developed the strategic and tactical conceptions on all internal and foreign questions and thus gave the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, from the first to the last page, the unique conciseness and revolutionary impact that raised it above all the contemporary democratic papers.

Marx had founded the paper as an " Organ of Democracy," but he fought for a democratic line, as Engels said, " that emphasized the specifically proletarian character in everything which it could not as yet inscribe on its banner."[14] Marx and Engels unequivocally determined the revolutionary-democratic program of the paper : the destruction of the Prussian and

Austrian states as the most important bulwarks of reaction, in order to unite all Germany in a democratic republic. This revolutionary program expressed the contents and the spirit of the paper, its actuality, its skilful, impressive language, from the lead editorial to the smallest notice and report. That was the tradition of the *Rheinische Zeitung* of 1842—43, a tradition established by Marx and achieved by no other previous paper, and which Marx now carried forward in the first daily newspaper of the revolutionary proletariat.

The very first issue hit the camp of reaction like a stroke of lightning. On the basis of the proceedings in the Frankfurt National Assembly, which had begun to sit on May 22, Marx and Engels brought into the light of day the wretched timidity of the bourgeois " people's representatives," who were turning the elected parliament into a gasbagging chamber. A lead editorial in the paper put it this way :

" The German people won their sovereignty in the streets of almost all the large and small cities of the land, and especially on the barricades of Vienna and Berlin. They exercised this sovereignty in the elections for the National Assembly. The first act of the National Assembly should have been to proclaim this sovereignty of the German people loudly and publicly. Its second act should have been to work out the German constitution on the basis of the people's sovereignty, and to remove everything from the existing situation in Germany that contradicted the people's sovereignty.

" During the whole of the session it should have pushed the necessary measures to thwart the plots of reaction, to defend the revolutionary basis on which it stands, to consolidate the achievement of the revolution—the sovereignty of the people—against all attacks.

" The German National Assembly has now held a dozen sittings and in all these matters has done exactly nothing."[15]

Marx and Engels showed, on the basis of numerous examples, how this indecisiveness of the National Assembly, in which the

democrats were a minority and the workers were not even represented, encouraged the counter-revolution. They exposed the secret aims of the feudal class, which was already gathering its forces together in many places, expecially in Prussia, in order to wipe out the modest achievements of the revolution with the support of the big bourgeoisie.

The articles in the first issue hit the mark-half the bourgeois shareholders deserted the paper at once.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* directed its main fire, from the first to the last issue, against the main enemy : the feudal counter-revolution and its big bourgeois assistants. At the same time Marx did not hesitate to speak some bitter truths to the petty-bourgeois democrats also when necessary. And it *was* necessary, in order to overcome widespread parliamentary illusions. The paper was the only one that told the popular masses that the March risings were not the end but only the beginning of the German revolution, that with the March victories the revolution itself had by no means yet triumphed, that it was necessary to make the half revolution into a full revolution. As long as the apparatus of the old ruling power remained—the army, the police, the array of officials—so long would every parliamentary body be powerless, unable even to carry through a single revolutionary measure. " A constituent National Assembly must above all be a functioning, an actively revolutionary Assembly,"[16] Marx wrote.

The paper thus directed the attention of the popular masses to their real tasks, to the basic problems of the revolution which had not yet been solved. In this effort Marx had a most important force on his side : practical politics. He never lectured his readers, never offered them abstract principles, but demonstrated to them, on the basis of their own daily experiences, how reaction, with its ban on meetings and demonstrations, its arrests and military attacks on democrats, already threatened to take back by force the positions it had lost in March.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was barely two weeks old when

an armed conflict erupted in Berlin which in its development confirmed Marx's warning. On June 10 the majority of the deputies in the Prussian National Assembly spoke out against official recognition of the revolution of March 18, unequivocally declared the Assembly had gathered only for the purpose of "agreeing" with the king about a constitution, and thereby ranged it openly against the demands of the revolutionary masses, especially the workers. The German workers and the democratic petty-bourgeois, who had in the meantime organized themselves into workers' associations and democratic clubs, were highly indignant over this shameful capitulation. Their disillusionment with the government and the liberal bourgeoisie was further deepened when, despite their protests, artisans and factory workers remained barred from the people's militia set up after March 18. The storm broke on the evening of June 14 : the Berlin workers attacked the arsenal and seized the weapons which the king and the big bourgeois Ministry had denied them. But the action was not organized and was defeated by the people's militia and the troops loyal to the king.

The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* hailed the spontaneous uprising of the Berlin workers as the first storm signal of new revolutionary mass actions. At the same time it denounced the contemptible betrayal by the Prussian bourgeoisie—which today called on the *Junkers'* army for aid against its comrades-in-arms of yesterday—and criticized the wavering of many petty-bourgeois democrats. Marx declared that it was the inalienable right of the people to exert moral pressure on its parliamentary representatives and to force them to act in a revolutionary manner. Only through a determined struggle of the popular masses against the large feudal landowners and dynasties, against the military and officials' castes, with arms in hand if necessary, could the counter-revolution be decisively defeated. Only through the determined advance and completion of the revolution could the popular masses create the "genuine people's government"[17] which was required to transform their fatherland into a demo-

cratic national state, respected by all the peoples and feared by none. These views run like a red thread through all the issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

Bitterly, Marx and his co-workers also protested the betrayal of the peasants by the bourgeoisie and their parliamentary representatives. In the first weeks of the revolution, the peasants had themselves abolished the feudal duties and forced services that had weighed heavily on them. They had accomplished that in large areas of Germany. The bourgeoisie needed only to confirm by law this abolition of feudal burdens without compensation. But the same bourgeoisie was already flirting with feudal reaction in order to employ it as the hangman of the revolution, and did not dare to touch the economic foundations of the *Junkers*. As early as July it did not draw back from supporting draft laws under which the peasants, as from time immemorial, could buy their freedom and land from the *Junkers* and large landowners only with great sums of money. In this manner, Marx declared, the bourgeoisie thrust the peasants away from the revolution. As he wrote : " The French bourgeoisie of 1789 never for one moment left its allies, the peasants, in the lurch. It understood that the basis of its rule was the annihilation of feudalism on the land, the establishment of a free, land-owning peasant class. The German bourgeoisie of 1848, without a shred of decency, betrayed these peasants, who are its *most natural allies* . . . and without whom it is powerless against the aristocracy."[18]

True to the democratic agrarian program of the Communists, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* one month later demanded that the huge sums of money ground out of the peasants by the feudal lords over the centuries be repaid to them to the last pfennig, instead of more millions being lavished on the *Junkers* now.

Marx and Engels did not tire of explaining to the popular masses that victory or defeat of the revolution was also intimately connected with the struggle for emancipation of the neighbouring peoples. The revolution itself had spread the

slogan : " A nation cannot win freedom and at the same time continue to oppress other nations."[19] In numerous articles on foreign questions they ardently supported the liberation struggles of the peoples subjugated by Prussia, Austria and Czarist Russia, namely the Poles, Czechs, Hungarians and Italians.

Marx and Engels proceeded from the premise that the alliance sealed in 1815 between the Russian czar, the Austrian emperor and the Prussian king was the greatest obstacle to the bourgeois-revolutionary movement and the national liberation of the middle and east European peoples. In this grotesquely named Holy Alliance Russia, which was then hardly touched by capitalist development, played the decisive role.

Marx paid special attention to the fight for freedom of the Polish people, whose state the three feudal powers, Russia, Prussia and Austria, had divided among themselves. Large sections of the Polish population had risen against the hated foreign rule of Prussia in the spring of 1848. But the liberal big bourgeois Ministry of Prussia answered the demand of the Poles for state independence and the unity of their Fatherland with shrapnel and massacres. With this step the German bourgeoisie not only cut itself off from its most important foreign allies, but encouraged feudal reaction to prepare its ranks also for the offensive against the revolutionary movement at home.

No one recognized the connection between these events as clearly as Marx and Engels. The latter wrote : " On what has the power of reaction based itself since 1815, yes, to some degree even since the first French Revolution ? On the Russian-Prussian-Austrian *Holy Alliance*. And what keeps this Holy Alliance together ? The *division of Poland*, from which all three allies have benefited. The dividing line that the three powers drew through Poland is the band that chains them to one another. The joint pillage has created solidarity among them."[20] The liberation of Poland and its national independence was " for no one as important as precisely for us Germans."[21] Marx and Engels, as the basis for a revolutionary foreign policy, therefore

proclaimed in the paper : " The establishment of a democratic Poland is the prerequisite for the establishment of a democratic Germany."[22]

Marx and Engels saw the liberation of Poland at the same time as a central task for the general European revolutionary movement. If success crowned the efforts to mobilize all the revolutionary peoples of Europe for the freeing of Poland, which was on the same plane as the struggle against the Holy Alliance, then the destruction of Czarism and its satellites, the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg dynasties, would also clear the way for the victory of the bourgeois revolution in all of Europe. Such a revolutionary military confrontation with the leading power of the Holy Alliance was all the more necessary, since the czar had been preparing armed intervention against the European revolutionary movement since the summer of 1848, an offensive which he launched in the spring of 1849 with the subjugation of revolutionary Hungary. Marx's demand at that time for a revolutionary people's war against Czarism was therefore of a progressive nature.

Naturally, this demand completely lost its justification when a powerful revolutionary movement decades later developed in Russia itself, and especially after the Russian proletariat overthrew the czar. But not a few imperialist history scribblers even today make the assinine attempt to dig out Marx's clearly anti-czarist but not anti-Russian conception of 1848—49 and to misuse it for their anti-Soviet diatribes today.

Marx saw in Czarist Russia the protector of European reaction, and in Prussia the main pillar of German reaction. He used every opportunity to show his readers in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* how the Prussian system of government deprived the people of the most elementary political rights. At the same time he demonstrated that the militarism characteristic of Prussia, under which the entire social life was subordinated to the interests of the military and war, was an expression of the aggressive policy which the Prussian *Junkers* pursued both within and

outside the state. This Prussian militarism did everything to keep the masses in ignorance, to obstruct the democratic unification of the nation, to expand the area of Prussian power, and to perpetuate the rule of the sword and the knout. Marx and Engels patiently explained, on the basis of Prussian history and the current policy of the Berlin government, that Prussianism was an ever-present source of danger for the neighbouring peoples, for their security and national independence, and was also to the same degree the most dangerous enemy of the German people themselves. Marx and Engels saw their first duty as Communists and patriots in firmly welding together all the democratic forces against the Prussian *Junkers* and militarists and their reactionary state.

While the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* vigorously combated the liberal big bourgeoisie for its counter-revolutionary policy, it adopted another attitude towards the petty-bourgeois democrats. In the latter, Marx and Engels saw real allies. The weaknesses, indecision and parliamentary illusions of the urban petty-bourgeoisie, the artisans, merchants and intellectuals, naturally, had to be relentlessly criticized in the interests of the promotion of the revolution, but always with the aim of bringing the working class, the peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeoisie together in a solid alliance. In this way Marx and Engels themselves provided a fine example of how to combine tactical flexibility with firm political principles in the class struggle, in a manner typical of true working class politics and loyal to the proposals outlined in the Communist Manifesto. In this way, also, they and their friends in the Communist League implemented, with the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the independent and forward-driving role of the working class in the general democratic movement. And in this way they " dictated a program of action for the *whole of democracy*."[23]

Even in the discussions about the founding of the paper, Marx had vigorously put forward the conception that it should have, not a provincial but a national character, that it should in fact

develop as an organ of European democracy. Thanks to the boldness and the clarity with which it uncovered and attacked the aims of feudal and big bourgeois reaction, thanks to the consistency with which it criticized the lack of revolutionary energy on the part of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opposition, it soon won great influence among the German public. The advanced workers and the firm democrats with justice looked upon it as their organ. Democratic and workers' organizations subscribed to the paper of the German Communists. Despite all the financial difficulties, it reached a circulation of 5,000 copies after three and a half months, which was at that time surpassed by very few German newspapers. Other democratic and workers' papers, inside and outside of Germany, began to reprint articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* or to base themselves on its opinions. In the democratic movement in Germany, Marx's name became more and more a symbol of uncompromising struggle against feudal-militarist reaction, of selfless activity for a democratic and peaceful future for the German people.

As chief editor, Marx understood how to subordinate the contents of the paper to the central task : the advancement of the revolution. He abhorred long and abstract articles in the political section of the paper, such as were then fashionable in most of the petty-bourgeois democratic sheets. He published facts, and used logic, clear argumentation and the persuasiveness of his ideas to lead the reader to the only possible conclusion. This conclusion was : to utterly defeat the only half-defeated feudal power through the alliance of all the democratic forces, to extend the democratic rights already won, and to force the setting up of the democratic republic.

The same goal was served by the comprehensive correspondents' reports and information published regularly from inside and outside the country. Marx's sure hand guaranteed that the essentials were lifted out of the welter of inflowing facts, that all events were estimated from the viewpoint of a firm demo-

cratic position, that experiences were exchanged, and that conclusions were drawn for the next revolutionary steps.

Not least, Marx showed what a great political role the feuilleton could play in the democratic press. Among these feuilletons, for which Georg Weerth—and later Freiligrath also—was responsible, many of the best revolutionary poems of Freiligrath appeared, including *The Dead to the Living, Wien,* and *Blum.* Weerth's brilliant satires and poems sided with the working class, with the revolutionary party, and attacked the *Junkers,* the big bourgeoisie, the Philistines and thick-headed fools with biting sarcasm, as in his poem, *This Morning I Travelled to Düsseldorf :*

On the train to Düsseldorf today
I enjoyed an amusing caper.
A government councillor huffed and swore
At our *Neue Rheinische* paper.

" The editors of this damnable sheet,"
He said, " are devils and dogs.
They neither fear the Lord
Nor the Prosecutor Boggs.

" To heal the world's misfortunes
And the sorrows of the nation—
They want the red republic
And total expropriation.

" The world will be divided
Among the billion slaves—
To each the land, and so much sand
And so much ocean waves.

" And everyone will get a share
To fill them with good cheer.
And for the *Rheinische Zeitung*—
Champagne instead of beer.

" And nationalized women they also plan.
Abolish marriage and weather !
In the balmy future, from now on
We'll all go to bed together.

" Yes, they'll set the whole world on its ear,
These vulgar modern blighters.
But who will get the loveliest women ?
The *Rheinische Zeitung* writers.

" They want to destroy just everything—
Oh, heretics and bawds !
In future no one again shall have
Either property or Gods."

Now the gentleman fell silent
As if ready at last to give in.
I said : " You're a very clever man
For the crazy times we live in.

" I am delighted, my worthy Herr,
For your company and attention.
I happen to be an editor
Of the paper that you mention.

" Oh, travel on and carry our fame
Through the length and breadth of the land—
It is only a man with a mighty brain
Who can so easily understand."

Far may he travel, our worthy Herr—
I will set up a monument for him.
In one of our better feuilletons
I will mangle, kick and gore him.

Not every fool can earn from us
A good kick, even lightly.
I have the honour, Regierungsrat,
To greet you most politely.[24]

The editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, under the guidance of their chief editor, constantly endeavored to imbue the workers with an understanding of their historic mission and systematically to prepare an over-all national political organization of the young German working class. This aim was furthered by the fact that Marx daily counselled his proletarian readers to take an active part in the revolutionary struggle, not to let themselves be isolated in any way from the democratic movement by sectarianism, but rather to win the petty-bourgeois democrats for a consistent policy. That was the only way to create the conditions for the independent unification of the proletariat.

For this there were encouraging possibilities. The revolution had awakened great numbers of workers and proletarian artisans politically. It had not only drawn them into political struggles ; it had made them the main force in the democratic movement in the cities. Many of these workers joined the petty-bourgeois democratic associations and clubs, but thousands organized themselves also into political groups. At the same time, the working class had come forward with its own demands from the beginning of the revolution, aimed at improving its social position. A great strike wave developed, especially in April and May. Even though not all the strikes ended successfully, they nevertheless led to the setting up of many, mostly local, union organizations. All these developments demonstrated the basic drive of the proletariat to organize itself.

Marx fostered the political maturing of the working class, further, with comprehensive reports about the more advanced English and French workers' movement and the lessons of their struggles. He regularly put before his readers the experiences gained by the proletariat in the various parts of Germany in its economic and political contests with the bourgeoisie, and on the basis of these experiences outlined the tasks of the working class in the struggle against the counter-revolution.

The extent to which the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was the

voice of consistent proletarian democracy became especially evident with a development at the end of June 1848 that Marx had already prophesied on the basis of the February revolution. It was the taking to the barricades of the Paris proletariat—now, for the first time, in its own class interests. Disillusioned with the supposed " social republic " and provoked by the owning classes, the workers of Paris rose on June 23. They fought as one man, with a tenacity, a boldness and self-sacrifice of which only the proletariat is capable, against the army of the bourgeoisie, which was well armed and twice as strong.

Marx and Engels recognized immediately that a drama with an all-European significance was being played out in Paris. In numerous articles and reports, they informed the German workers about the struggle of the 40,000 Parisian proletarians and drew an important lesson from it. This was : that socialism can only be implemented when bourgeois domination is overthrown and the proletariat takes power into its own hands.

When the workers were defeated on June 26 after days of bloody combat, when thousands of proletarians were brutally murdered by the soldiers, and when the old and new counter-revolutionaries in all countries slandered the rebels in the most unscrupulous manner, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* still held high the banner of the defeated proletariat. Filled with revolutionary optimism, on March 29 Marx commemorated the heroic struggle " in one of his most powerful articles,"[25] terming it an announcement of coming class battles of the proletariat in its continuing struggle for social emancipation.

" We will be asked," he wrote, " if we have no tears, no sighs, no words for those who fell before the anger of the people . . .

" The state will look after their widows and orphans. They will be sanctified in decrees. Triumphant funeral corteges will conduct them to their graves. The official press will pronounce them immortal. European reaction will praise them from East to West.

" But the plebeians, torn by hunger, insulted by the press, abandoned by the doctors, defamed as thieves by the respectable ones ; the firebrands, the galley-slaves whose wives and children are pushed into even deeper poverty, whose finest survivors are transported overseas—to place the laurel wreath on *their* darkened heads, *that is the privilege, that is the duty of the democratic press.*"[26]

This ardent solidarity with " the triumphant defeated " cost the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* the rest of its bourgeois shareholders. But it kindled the class-consciousness of the awakened German workers, especially in Cologne and Berlin. Marx's article created such a lasting impression that the communist, Friedrich Lessner, wrote half a century later : " I can still vividly remember today how I reread Marx's article about these events in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* at least twenty times, because it so well expressed our feelings."[27]

In the Struggle Against the Advancing Counter-Revolution

hat Marx had predicted in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* came to pass : after the June battle in Paris, reaction throughout Europe sensed a favourable change in the air again, especially in Prussia. Strengthened through the betrayal of the bourgeoisie, it now began " to dismiss even its temporary allies, the bourgeoisie, and to reintroduce the conditions which had existed in Germany before the March events."[28] Military provocations multiplied. The harassment of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* also increased.

On July 6, 1848, Marx was subpoenaed to appear before the investigating judge. After a lengthy questioning he was accused of having insulted civic and police officials in Cologne. A search of the offices of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* followed. What

had happened ? Two days previously the police had struck against the Cologne Workers' Association and had arrested two of its leading members under a flimsy pretext. In the course of the action police-sluggers acted with extreme brutality, handling even a woman in advanced pregnancy roughly. It was precisely this and nothing else that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had reported and condemned. And for this Marx was to be hauled into the courts. His questioning and the search of his home, it was true, yielded nothing. Yet it was made clear that his policy of needling the authorities would soon bring more serious reprisals.

The growing counter-revolution could only be beaten back and defeated by a determined alignment of all the democratic forces. Marx pushed this view tirelessly in the paper. It was also his guiding principle in the practical political struggle. Although he already had his hands full with his editorial work, he began to work energetically to bring together the various democratic organizations in Cologne for united action. He himself did not belong to the Cologne Workers' Association but was a leading member of the Democratic Society, which included in its ranks petty-bourgeois, workers, artisans and some democratically inclined officers. Some of his most intimate comrades, like Joseph Moll and Karl Schapper, worked in the Cologne Workers' Association, which in June already had over 6,000 members. In addition, there was an Association for other workers and employers who also supported democratic aims.

To win these three democratic groupings, with their differences in structure and also in certain aims, for joint actions, without giving up the political independence of the working class, was in no way easy. This was the first time that Marx faced such a task. His aim was made even more difficult by the fact that he had to contend, on the one hand, with sectarian tendencies opposed to every joint action, and on the other hand, with opportunist views based on a lack of principles and a compromising attitude. But at last the leaders of the three organ-

izations agreed, while continuing the political organizations of the proletariat and the petty-bourgeoisie, to undertake joint political actions and to operate unitedly against the counter-revolution. A six-man committee of the democratic Cologne associations was set up. In mid-July it became the district leadership of the democratic Rhine organizations and led the united actions.

The leader of this action committee—as delegate of the Democratic Society—was Karl Marx. He thus stood at the head of the organized democratic forces of Cologne and soon of the whole Rhine province. For the first time in German history, the working together of consistent bourgeois democrats and communists in the struggle against a common enemy, the military counter-revolution, was tested here in the Rhineland and showed its worth.

Marx pursued his collaboration with the petty-bourgeois democrats earnestly. He attended the meetings of the Democratic Society, played a leading role in the discussions of the actions committee, and spared neither time nor energy to persuade the workers and bourgeois democrats, in comprehensive debates, of the necessity of jointly defending the rights and freedoms of the people.

The extent to which this personal activity of Marx, the efforts of his comrades, and above all, the political clarification carried on by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, influenced the political decisions of the democrats was shown at the Rhine province congress of democratic and workers' organizations, which met at Cologne August 13—15. Marx participated in the meeting and helped it further the collaboration of all the democratic forces, including the associations and the newspapers. The delegates made the important decision to strengthen their propaganda among the peasants, to organize mass meetings on the land, and to set up democratic peasants' associations.

Feudal reaction and the bourgeoisie became very disturbed by the popularity that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and its chief editor now enjoyed. They would have banned the revolutionary

organ with great pleasure, but the existing laws in the Rhine province made that impossible. Reaction also feared the democratic anti-Prussian temper of the popular masses in the province. It therefore turned to more devious methods.

At the beginning of August the Cologne police director informed Marx that the Cologne authorities had refused to recognize him as a "Prussian subject." This meant that he would have the status of a "foreigner." This plan of the counter-revolution was too obvious. Without rousing the wrath of the people by an open action against the paper, the government wanted to leave itself free, at an opportune moment, to order the editor out of the country as a "foreigner," and in this way to silence the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

The Communists launched an immediate movement of protest against this chicanery. The Cologne Workers' Association rallied to Marx's support. On August 11, at a meeting of the Democratic Society, Engels revealed what lay behind this malicious plot. Those present decided to send delegations to the police director and the government president to protest against such reactionary intrigues.

Marx now addressed a stinging letter to the Prussian Minister of the Interior in which he listed all the vendettas the government had staged against him from the beginning : expulsion from Paris—instigated by the Prussian government ; expulsion from Brussels—aided by the Prussian government ; warrants of arrest against him on every border crossing—issued by the Prussian government. How else could he have protected himself other than by relinquishing such citizenship ? But now, as a result of the revolution, all the political refugees who had returned home from the emigration had had their citizenship rights restored to them. Only in his case were they denied. It was most obvious that this denial concealed the hope—a complete delusion, it had to be said—that with such machinations his political activity as a democrat could be brought to an end . . . The Prussian Minister of the Interior rejected the complaint.

Signs increased that the counter-revolution was preparing to take the offensive. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* daily reported depredations by the police, more and more prohibitions of meetings, and widespread military preparations on the part of reaction. Marx viewed with great concern the fact that, in the face of this systematically organized concentration of the counter-revolutionary forces, the democratic revolutionary movement was still very much divided. In order to better promote the much-needed collaboration of the democrats and the progressive workers, he personally visited the chief centres of the revolution.

On August 25 he travelled to Berlin. There he met with the Cologne doctor and Communist, Karl Ludwig d'Ester, who was active as a consistent democratic in the Berlin Constituent Assembly. He also met with other leaders of the petty-bourgeois democratic movement and discussed the political situation with them. From Berlin he hastened to Vienna. Here, a few days earlier, bloody provocations had been launched against the workers by the big bourgeoisie. Marx sought out the leading spokesmen of the radical petty-bourgeois organizations and called on them to join more resolutely in a common front against the big bourgeoisie, basing themselves on the workers.

On August 28 he took part in a meeting of the Democratic Clubs in Vienna. After those present unanimously decided to demand the removal of the Labour Minister—if necessary, even of the entire big bourgeois ministry—a lively debate developed on the question : to whom this demand should be presented ? Some wanted to send a delegation to the Kaiser ; the others demanded that the petition be presented to the parliament. Marx put an end to this useless battle of words about complaining to the patrons of reaction about the counter-revolution. He declared that the issue in Vienna was the same as earlier in the June battle in Paris : the settling of accounts with the bourgeoisie, now turned counter-revolutionary, by the revolutionary popular masses, represented in the first place by the proletariat. " Till

now," Marx said, " only two supreme powers have been mentioned to whom one should apply for the removal of the Ministry—the Reichstag and the Kaiser. The highest authority, however, has been forgotten—namely, the people ! "[29]

Two days later Marx spoke to a meeting of the First Vienna Workers' Association. He informed them at length about the international political situation, the better to elucidate the tasks of the proletarian movement and the great responsibility of the working class for the victory of democracy in Europe. He then analyzed for the workers how they were exploited by capital, and why their interests were not only different from those of the profit-seeking bourgeoisie, but also antagonistic to them.

Early in September Marx returned to Berlin from Vienna. Here he again had numerous meetings with petty-bourgeois democrats. He also asked them for financial aid for the hard-pressed *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. But his pleas and demands fell mostly on deaf ears. Only the Polish democrats showed brotherly solidarity and turned about 2,000 Thaler over to him.

On September 12 he returned to Cologne, where his collaborators were impatiently awaiting him. During his travels the situation in Germany had changed for the worse. The relation of forces between the revolution and counter-revolution remained stalemated, as before, but it was clear for all to see that the reactionary feudal power was preparing to dismiss its provisional ally, the bourgeoisie, and to bring back the conditions that had existed prior to March.

At the beginning of September a crisis developed in Prussia between the Constituent Assembly and the throne. The majority of the deputies demanded that the War Minister immediately remove all counter-revolutionary officers from the army, and that the armed forces pledge allegiance, not to the king but to the constitution. The Prussian War Minister did not even consider it necessary to reply to the deputies. The majority of the Prussian national assembly now actually brought itself to withdraw its support from the government, and the administration

of the big bourgeoisie resigned. But the Prussian king felt himself strong enough again to respond with the formation of a government consisting exclusively of reactionary officials and officers, under the leadership of General von Pfuel. This was a brazen provocation against the Constituent Assembly. The new government immediately began to organize the counter-revolution in public view.

At the same time a test of strength developed between the democratic and the reactionary forces in Frankfurt am Main. It had its origins in the war over the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which had broken out in the spring of 1848 when the Danish king attempted to annex the Duchy of Schleswig to Denmark. The citizens and peasants of both Duchies had thereupon risen, had set up a provisional government, and promulgated a democratic constitution. When the provisional government organized volunteer corps, patriotic-minded volunteers streamed to the north from all parts of Germany. The fate of the Duchies became the concern of the popular masses of all Germany.

When Denmark then sent troops to Schleswig, Prussia was authorized by the German *Bund* to defend Schleswig-Holstein. But the Prussian *Junkers* only pretended to conduct war. Under the pretext of fighting for Germany's unity, the Prussian king reorganized his troops, defeated by the people on March 18, and on August 26 agreed to a shameful cease-fire with the Danish king. Through this truce Schleswig-Holstein were betrayed and handed over to Denmark.

The reaction to this autocratic and anti-national act of the Prussian king was so strong in all of Germany that the Frankfurt National Assembly was forced to take a public stand. If it supported the cease-fire, it would signify a victory over the rest of Germany by Prussia, a victory of the counter-revolution. If it repudiated the cease-fire, it would mean leading the revolution to a new stage, possibly to a revolutionary people's war against the internal and external enemies of German unification. " And precisely such a war," Engels wrote on September 10 in

the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, " is needed by the German movement, a war that ' endangers the Fatherland ' and thereby saves it, precisely because it makes the victory of *Germany* dependent on the victory of democracy."[30] History has seldom showed with such clarity how indissolubly the vital interests of the German nation are linked to the victory of democracy in Germany.

On the evening of September 12 Marx took part in a joint meeting of representatives of the Cologne Workers' Association and the Democratic Society. It was decided to call a mass meeting for the next day. The meeting, prepared in only a few hours, exceeded all expectations. Five to six thousand people gathered at noon on the Frankenplatz. The editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* proposed to the meeting that a security committee be elected to " represent that portion of the people of Cologne not represented in the legally constituted officialdom."[31] The commitee was to stand guard over the revolutionary achievements of the people, won in bloody struggles, to prevent the reduction of these achievements or their complete abolition. Those present endorsed the proposal with stormy applause and elected 30 members to the Security Committee. Along with Marx, these included Engels, Wilhelm Wolff, Dronke, Moll, Schapper and Bürgers, as well as bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats.

To strengthen the influence of the Committee among the people, and to lend it authority before the state organs, Marx and his comrades organized further meetings in the weeks that followed. The biggest took place on September 17, when nearly 10,000 people assembled on the Fühlinger Heide at Worrington, not far from Cologne. Some came on foot, some on horse or open waggons, still others on Rhine boats from which red flags fluttered. The great assembly gave its approval to a democratic social German republic and, on Engels' proposal, unanimously pledged their lives and possessions to combat the counter-revolution of the *Junkers* and big bourgeoisie.[32]

As in the Rhine province, the people in other areas of Ger-

many, expecially in Frankfurt am Main, also took to the streets to challenge the ever more brazen counter-revolution. But it was repeatedly, ignominiously left in the lurch by the bourgeois majorities in the Frankfurt National Assembly and the Berlin Constituent Assembly. The Frankfurt National Assembly approved the cease-fire with Denmark with a bare majority. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* wrote warningly : " We did not delude ourselves : the honour of Germany lies in bad hands."[33]

The change of government in Berlin and the growth of the Prussian counter-revolution immediately encouraged the authorities in Cologne to undertake new acts of violence also. Warrants of arrest were issued against Wilhelm Wolff, Joseph Moll, Karl Schapper, and investigations were authorized against Engels, Dronke and others. But the police actions miscarried. At dawn on September 25 the police were able to arrest Schapper, but when they sought to arrest Moll, the president of the Workers' Association, a wall of determined proletarians stood in their way. Moll escaped unmolested. Wilhelm Wolff took refuge for a while in the Palatinate, while Engels, Dronke, Bürgers and Ferdinand Wolff went abroad to escape police persecutions.

On the afternoon of September 25 Marx made a tour of the meeting halls of the Workers' Association and the Democratic Society. He warned the workers not to let themselves be tricked into a premature armed uprising, in a situation " where no vital problem propels the whole people into the struggle."[34] The Cologne workers had to be restrained, under all circumstances, from hitting back before the time was ripe. Marx's authority and influence were so great that the Cologne proletariat heeded his advice : they built barricades to defend themselves, but despite all the provocations of the military they did not let themselves be pushed into a hopeless putsch.

On the next day the reactionary state power launched a new provocation : it placed Cologne under a state of siege. All the democratic associations were banned, the freedom of assembly was lifted and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and other demo-

cratic papers were prohibited. The dictatorship of the sword continued for eight days. Then it had to be recalled, because the government feared that a continuation of the state of siege would line up against it the democratic opposition of the whole country.

The outcome was that reaction was not able to achieve its goal with the state of siege in Cologne ; on the other hand, the democratic movement in the Rhine metropolis suffered a setback. The editorial staff of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was especially hard hit. Marx had to undertake the most strenuous measures to make publication possible again. Georg Weerth was the only collaborator left him, along with Ferdinand Freiligrath, who now joined the editorial committee. The burden of work grew heavier daily, the financial difficulties greater. Marx was forced to take on the paper as his personal property. But this " property " consisted of a heap of debts owing and debts to be paid, so that he had to sacrifice yet another substantial portion of his own money. He did it—with a heavy heart, because of his family—but without hesitation, because " it was necessary, under all cirsumstances, to hold the *fort* and not to surrender the political position."[35]

Some of Georg Weerth's verses of that period show how little the infamies of enemies and the resulting difficulties could shake the fighting courage of Marx and his collaborators or blunt their satire :

There's nothing nicer than the howls
Of your enemies as you bite them—
Or to tweak the noses of the fools
With the satires that you write them.

So I thought, and took up my pen—
I had reckoned without my liege.
The fun was over, holy Cologne
Was put in a state of siege.

The city bristled with bayonets
Like a monster porcupine.

The Prussian angels roamed the streets
Flushed with success and wine.

And an officer drew up before our door—
What a warlike troop he led !
He beat his drums and then proclaimed :
The *Rheinische Zeitung* was dead.[36]

By October 11 Marx and Weerth and their friends had overcome all difficulties : the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appeared once more. Though Wilhelm Wolff, still hunted by the police, soon returned to Cologne and assisted Marx in the editing of the paper, the load of work was unbelievable. Public meetings and committees, discussions with workers eager for information, heated debates with cowards and confused individuals, protests to the military authorities, endless correspondence—all of this plus the daily editorial work, threats of court actions against Marx, and the knowledge that he must reckon with arrest at any moment. Yet in mid-October he agreed to take over the leadership of the Cologne Workers' Association at the request of a delegation from that organization. "The government and the bourgeoisie," he said, "must come to realize that, in spite of their persecutions, people will always be found who are ready to serve the workers."[37] After Moll's forced emigration, he considered it impossible to leave the Workers' Association in a situation where it might be manipulated by elements hostile to communist ideology and tactics. In addition, the Association was for Marx and his comrades the most important base from which to carry out the policies fought for by the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

Marx considered his talks to workers and his discussions with them a necessary supplement to his activity as an editor. He believed that the effectiveness of the paper depended on the extent and the manner in which it tackled the problem that stirred the workers in their daily lives. In order to know these problems, one had to go to the workers. At the same time, by taking up the demands and the ideas of the workers, the paper

had to help its proletarian readers recognize the central issues of the class struggle in the welter of political developments, as well as to find the road to their solution. Marx and his friends therefore made sure that the Cologne workers were made acquainted with the opinions of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on every opportunity that presented itself. The members of the Communist League working in Cologne and other class-conscious workers distributed the paper in the workshops in which they were employed. Some of them, as Friedrich Lessner wrote of himself, "often read out articles during the working-time which were usually received with enthusiasm."[38]

The leading committee of the Workers' Association, probably at Marx's suggestion, decided on October 16 to devote the first hour of future meetings to discussion of the internal and foreign work of the association and the second to social and political questions. That provided the opportunity to have the *Demands of the Communist Party of Germany* systematically analyzed in what was then the ideologically most mature proletarian organization. It also facilitated the spreading of the ideas of the program, as clarified in the discussions, among the workers of Cologne and the rural population. The discussions were extraordinarily thorough. The individual points in the program were usually discussed on a number of evenings, so that the central tasks of the proletariat were always closely tied up with the mobilization of the workers against the counter-revolution. Under Marx's leadership, and thanks also to the influence of other communists, the Cologne Workers' Association in the coming months emerged as the nucleus of an all-German workers' party.

The lead article of the first issue of the paper that Marx was able to bring out after the state of siege in Cologne was his "Revolution in Vienna." On October 6 the revolutionary workers, students and artisans of Vienna had again begun an armed rising. It came when the Kaiser autocratically issued orders to the Vienna garrison to march into Hungary and, under the

command of the counter-revolutionary General Jellachich, to crush the independence movement. The people triumphed and forced the Kaiser to flee to Olmütz. But the Vienna revolution threatened, as Marx wrote, "if not to miscarry completely because of the antipathy of the bourgeoisie against the working class, then at least to be crippled in its development."[39] Marx was right. The bourgeoisie brought uncertainty, confusion and division into the revolutionary Vienna movement, and the petty-bourgeois democrats in the rest of Germany contented themselves with the drafting of pious-sounding appeals for solidarity with Vienna. The *Neue Rhenische Zeitung* alone, through the words of Marx, called for the only effective aid still possible, namely, "the defeat of the counter-revolution in our own house."[40] And Freiligrath wrote : "If we could still kneel, we would be down on our knees ; if we could still pray, we would be praying for Vienna." He begged the democrats of Germany not to gaze in the direction of Vienna, but to defend it in Berlin, in Frankfurt, in Dresden.

They need no pilgrims, they who know no fear—
to save the cause of *Wien*, rise up and battle here !
Clean up at home, rise up here in the North—
to put down Jellachich, drive all the tyrants forth !
Drive all the tyrants forth—oh, what a mighty blow !—
When our *own* Olmütz falls, Olmütz itself will go.[41]

The counter-revolutionary Hapsburg troops launched a general offensive against Vienna on October 23. After eight days of heroic resistance on the part of the workers and students, the government troops finally stormed the city. The revolution was strangled in blood.

The fall of Vienna became known in Cologne on November 6. On the same evening Marx analyzed the reasons for the defeat at a meeting of the committee of the Workers' Association, as he had already done in his article for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. "All history," he wrote, "shows no more *shameful wretchedness*

than that of the *German bourgeoisie.*"[42] He added warningly : " In Vienna, the second act has now been staged of the drama, the first act of which was played in Paris under the title : '*The June Days*' . . . We will soon witness the third act in *Berlin.*"[43]

Marx's prophecy—the result of his scientific view of history—was to be confirmed all too quickly. Hardly was Vienna a victim of reaction when the Prussian counter-revolution decided its hour had also struck. A sprout of the Hohenzollerns, Count Brandenburg, took over the government on November 8. The king ordered the Prussian Constituent Assembly to leave Berlin. When its members did not commit political suicide as demanded, Guard regiments under the command of the Pomeranian *Junker* General Wrangel marched into the city. Democratic rights were abrogated. A state of siege was declared. The Berlin workers were prepared to beat back the *coup d'état*, but the majority of the constituent assembly in this situation refused to take decisive measures against the reactionary government and rejected the support of armed citizens and workers. Instead of standing up to the king and his arch-reactionary clique, instead of meeting force with force, it answered only with words and finally permitted itself to be dispersed by the Prussian military. The remaining petty-bourgeois democratic deputies decided, it is true, on a call to the people to refuse to pay taxes, but they drew back from implementing this call through actions outside of parliament. Thus the decisive moment for the revolution in Prussia went by.

Marx and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, however, did not accept the advance of the counter-revolution as an irrevocable fact. Marx gave expression to the will of the indignant masses when, in the November 12 issue of the paper, he called on the people to deny the government taxes, since such an action could hit the government in a very sensitive area. Two days later, in the name of the actions committee of Rhineland democrats, he called for the organizing of mass meetings " to inspire the people of the Rhine province to refuse to pay taxes."[44]

The extent to which the revolutionary masses looked upon Marx as their spokesman, as their trusted confidant, was convincingly shown by an incident on November 14, when he was once again called before the examining judge for questioning. As the Cologne prosecuting attorney reported to the Prussian Justice Ministry with great anxiety, he was " escorted right to the court building by many hundreds of persons . . . who, when he came out again, received him with a thundering hurrah, and made no secret of the fact that they would have freed him by force, had he been arrested."[45]

From November 19 till late December, the front page of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* carried a slogan in great letters under the masthead : " No More Taxes ! ! ! " The paper published reports almost daily about actions and appeals in the campaign from all parts of Germany. To the workers, peasants and artisans Marx addressed himself as follows :

" How can the monarchy be defeated in civic fashion ?

" By starving it.

" And how can it be starved ?

" By the refusal to pay taxes.

" Think of it ! All the princes of Prussia, all the Brandenburgs and Wrangels produce—no *barrack bread.* You, you yourselves produce the barrack bread."[46]

Marx saw in the " no taxes " movement a method of kindling the revolutionary energy of the masses, and of introducing a new stage in the revolution through the gradual shifting from passive to fighting resistance. On November 18, on behalf of the Rhine actions committee of democrats, he called upon all democratic organizations in the province to remove counter-revolutionary government officials, to mobilize the conscripts against the regiments east of the Elbe loyal to the king, to elect security committees in every locality, and to meet force with force. This appeal found a response in some places, but on the whole the movement foundered once more on the cowardice of the bourgeoisie and the timidity of the petty-bourgeoisie. Thus

the counter-revolution was permitted a new victory : on December 5 the king announced the final dissolution of the Prussian Constituent Assembly and dictated a constitution " with the grace of the king."

" The National Assembly," Marx commented bitterly on the reactionary *coup d'état*, " is now reaping the fruits of its chronic weakness and cowardice. It calmly permitted the conspiracy against the people to go forward for months, to become strong and powerful, and now therefore becomes its first victim."[47]

In the Struggle for a National Workers' Party

arx saw without illusion the fact that the victories of the counter-revolution in Vienna and Berlin had changed the relation of forces significantly in favour of feudal reaction. In Prussia and Austria, the two most important German states, the ruling circles set out " by the grace of God " to re-establish the pre-revolutionary situation. But despite the seriousness of the situation, Marx and his comrades had no intention of giving up the battle.

The counter-revolution had brought the people bloody defeats, but had at the same time taught it important political lessons. " The main result of the revolutionary movement of 1848 is not what the peoples won, but what they lost—*their illusions*." So Marx wrote in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, adding : " *June*,

November, December of the year 1848—these are the giant milestones of the disenchantment and the sobering of the European peoples."[48] The task of the Communists, as Marx saw it, was to draw the correct lessons from the recent struggles, to explain them openly to the people, and to apply them to the new struggles coming up.

In this Marx led the way. In a series of articles, " The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution ", and in many other articles which appeared in the paper from December 1848 to February 1849, he analyzed the character and the peculiarities of the revolution in Germany and the reasons for the victory of the counter-revolution in Prussia. He pilloried the Prussian bourgeoisie, describing it as " without belief in itself, without belief in the people, snarling at those above, trembling at those below, egoistic towards all and conscious of its egotism, revolutionary towards the conservatives, conservative towards the revolutionaries, mistrustful of its own platitudes, with phrases instead of ideas, frightened by the storm of the world yet exploiting it—all energy in no direction, plagiarism in all directions, base because it is not original, original in its baseness."[49] This bourgeoisie, he declared, constantly endeavoured to come to power, not through revolution, but only through a peaceful bargain with the monarchy. The conduct of the Prussian bourgeoisie during the November crisis had clearly shown that it had deserted the anti-feudal fighting front for good.

In these conditions, Marx informed his readers, the further struggle to advance civic progress in Germany could only take the form of a direct confrontation between the revolutionary masses—the workers, peasants and revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie—and the feudal counter-revolution. The year 1848 had shown that in Germany " only the absolutist feudal counter-revolution is possible or *the social-republican revolution.*"[50] All the more necessary was it, therefore, to outfit the revolutionary masses for an independent political struggle. But in the battles between March and December 1948 the petty-bourgeois demo-

crats, following the betrayal of the bourgeoisie, had also shown themselves incapable of carrying the revolution to completion. Therefore the responsibility for the further successful advance of the revolution rested even more on the young German working class. Marx was firmly convinced that the German workers could only be equal to the task if they joined together in a united and independent national organization, and if out of this came a national workers' party which not only included a few hundred people, like the Communist League, but broad strata of the most progressive workers.

Marx and his comrades in the leadership of the Communist League had already worked towards this goal in the first weeks of the revolution and had never forgotten it in the months that followed. While their hopes were still thwarted in the spring of 1848 by the lack of maturity of the German working class, conditions were significantly more favourable at the beginning of 1849. The political consciousness and activity of the German workers had grown in the course of the revolution. In the numerous local workers' associations, of which more than a hundred had grouped themselves loosely in a Workers' Brotherhood, the view spread that the worker had to defend, not only his economic but also his political interests, and had to speak for himself, bringing to an end the situation where the democratic petty-bourgeois spoke for him as his patron. Large sections of the proletariat had already liberated themselves from the influence of the petty-bourgeoisie through their own experiences, and not least through the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* and had recognized their own class aspirations more clearly. Marx followed up these hopeful new currents. In January 1849 he exposed the "*shameless mistreatment of the working class*"[51] by the Prussian bourgeoisie in the paper and addressed himself directly and more often to the proletariat.

He was at that time subjected to ever more frequent chicanery by the authorities. The Prussian government worked strenuously to silence the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* which represented the

people with so much passion and courage. At the beginning of February it launched two court actions against Marx at the same time. But both turned into a triumph for him.

On February 7 the famous " press trial " began against the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Marx, Engels and another colleague were charged with having insulted and slandered government officials in an article published in July 1848. The chief editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* did not content himself in court with refuting the charges, but used the public forum to defend freedom of the press in Prussia and all Germany in a stirring appeal. " It is not enough," Marx declared, " to fight against the general conditions and the ruling power. The press must make up its mind to enter the lists against *this* gendarme, *this* prosecutor, *this* district president."[52] The first duty of the press remained the destruction of the foundations of the existing reactionary " order." The audience in the court applauded Marx's speech and the jury declared him " not guilty."

More important than this trial were the court proceedings the next day. This time Marx, Karl Schapper and the petty-bourgeois democrat, Karl Schneider, were brought before the bar. They were accused, as members of the Rhine actions committee of democrats, to have called upon the people in November 1848 to refuse to pay taxes, and thus to have stirred up rebellion against the government. Marx transformed the court, which was packed to the rafters, into a revolutionary tribunal. He was not concerned with exonerating himself before the jury. He spoke, first of all, of the popular masses, by whom he wished to be heard and understood, he said. He charged the government had engineered one *coup d'état* after the other, and had set aside legal rights through unrestricted military dictatorship, euphemistically called a state of siege. Now, however, precisely this government dared to invoke against the people laws " which the crown itself had trampled underfoot."[53]

Marx then showed in a thoroughgoing manner that the refusal to pay taxes was a natural defense measure of the people against

a reactionary government. He determinedly defended the sovereignty of the people, its right to intercede in the historical process and to answer counter-revolutionary violence with violence. " When the crown," he said, " makes *counter*-revolution, the people justifiably answer with *revolution*."[54] Even the Prussian Constituent Assembly had no rights of its own. " The people had merely transferred to it the defense of its own rights. If it does not fulfil its mandate, then it ceases to exist. The people themselves then come onto the stage and act on the basis of their own legitimate authority."[55]

The prosecution suffered a setback in this action also. Marx, Schapper, and Schneider were cleared of the charges. The foreman of the jury even thanked Marx for his instructive remarks !

After these humiliating defeats the counter-revolutionary forces resorted to other methods to undermine Marx. His correspondence was opened. Stoolpigeons spied on him. Anonymous letters threatened him. These provocations earned nothing but laughter and contempt from Marx and his co-workers, as the columns of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* daily showed.

One day in Marx 1849 two junior officers intruded into Marx's home and challenged him regarding alleged insults to their caste. Marx met them in his dressing-gown, with the butt of a pistol jutting out of his pocket. The weapon was unloaded, but it induced the officers to withdraw in haste.

Engels later described how much wonder there was, " outside, in the Reich," that the collaborators in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* carried on their editorial work, quite unmoved, " in a Prussian fortress of the first rank, under the noses of a garrison of 8,000 men and in full view of the police headquarters." But " thanks to the eight bayonets and the 250 rounds of ammunition in the editorial offices, and the red Jacobin caps of the typesetters," the paper's building " was also looked upon by the officers as a fortress, which could not simply be taken by a *coup de main*."[56]

From mid-January on Marx's " Intimus," Engels, was again

physically at his side. Engels had contributed a number of articles, especially on foreign affairs, from Switzerland, where he had sought refuge for a while. But Marx had nevertheless sorely missed the presence of his collaborator in the daily skirmishes. He had provided Engels with money, sent him clothing and made suggestions for his journalistic work. When false friends had sought to sow mistrust between them, Marx had written to Engels warmly : " That I could leave you in the lurch for even one moment is the purest fantasy. You remain my ' Intimus,' as I hope I remain yours."[57]

Marx and Engels observed with lively sympathy how new proletarian organizations flowered in all parts of Germany at the beginning of 1849 and how the trend to a national association of the workers grew stronger. Basing themselves on the Cologne Workers' Association and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* the Communists played a leading role in this development.

Marx and his comrades devoted much energy to the propagating of the political tasks of the working class in the Cologne Workers' Association, and especially the 17 Demands of the Communist Party in Germany. At the same time Marx met with the leader of the Workers' Brotherhood, Stephan Born, and discussed with him how to guide the associations joined in the Brotherhood towards a more active participation in the political struggle.

In the first months of 1849 a series of regional workers' congresses took place in various parts of Germany, including Heidelberg, Hamburg, Altenburg and Nuremberg. Marx followed these with close interest. They expressed the desire of the most progressive workers for the unification of their organizations. The participants decided to organize an all-German congress in Leipzig in June 1849 at which a national German workers' association was to be founded. Marx greeted this project wholeheartedly and did everything to further it. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* reported fully on the workers' strivings for independent organization and actions, and Marx and Engels,

through their articles, assisted the ideological clarification inside the workers' organizations.

The refugee editors of the paper returned to Cologne unmolested now as some of the court actions against them were dropped, and began to work together with the leaders of the Cologne Workers' Association to bring together the workers' organizations of the whole Rhine province and Westphalia. On April 11, the Cologne Workers' Association called upon all workers' groups in the Rhineland to unite on a regional basis. Three days later Marx, Schapper, Wilhelm Wolff and their like-minded colleagues resigned from the Rhine district committee of democratic societies because " the existing organization of democratic societies brings together too many heterogeneous elements to make possible fruitful work for the cause." They were convinced " that a closer connection between the *workers'* associations is more desirable, since these consist of homogeneous elements."[58] After the organizational separation of the workers from the petty-bourgeois movement, naturally, Marx still believed it was necessary to seek and carry through joint actions in the struggle against the counter-revolution.

On April 17, the leaders of the Cologne Workers' Association decided to call a provincial congress in Cologne on May 6 of the workers' associations of both provinces. They named a provisional provincial committee of the Rhine-Westphalia Workers' Associations and elected Marx to it. Thus Marx was able to participate directly in the organizational preparations for an all-German workers' organization. He was also, however, no less concerned with the political and ideological independence and maturity of the projected All-German Workers' Association.

In order to show the workers " the economic relations on which the existence of the bourgeoisie and its class rule . . . are founded,"[59] Marx began the publication, beginning with the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of April 5, of instalments of his work, *Wage-Labour and Capital.* The articles were based on the manuscript of the lectures he had delivered at the end of 1847 to

the German Workers' Association in Brussels. In this theoretical work Marx explained to the workers the essence of capitalist exploitation and thereby the material basis of modern class struggle. He laid bare the unbridgeable antagonism that develops in capitalist society between the owners of the means of production and the wageworkers, which is masked or prettied up by the bourgeoisie but is not thereby banished.

Marx's aim, as he wrote in his introduction, was to present the material in the simplest and most popular manner, so that it would be most easily understood by the workers. His series was immediately used for a systematic discussion in meetings of the Cologne Workers' Association. It helped the workers to recognize more clearly the social and political position they occupied in bourgeois society, as well as their class interests and the goal of the social emancipation movement.

But not only that. The Cologne Workers' Association addressed itself to all workers' associations in all of Germany, sent them Marx's articles, and called on them " to discuss the question of wage-labour " and " to pass on their views on the subject."[60] In this manner, the influence of Marx and his comrades extended far beyond the borders of the Rhineland to the workers' associations moving towards unification, and taught them to fight independently for their liberation, in the spirit of the Communist Manifesto.

On April 20, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* announced that the series on Wage-Labour and Capital had to be interrupted because Marx was absent from Cologne. What had happened ? In mid-April, at a decisive moment, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was so financially exhausted that its further publication was dangerously jeopardized. Marx considered the paper the most important weapon of the Communists for the advancement of the revolution. It was also indispensable for the ideological preparation of the all-German workers' congress in Leipzig and the future all-German workers' organization. Marx had therefore set out on a trip lasting some weeks through Northwest Germany and West-

phalia to raise money among friends and like-minded comrades. At the same time he strengthened the links with the Communist League members and democrats working there. The financial success was moderate in Bremen, Hamburg, Bielefeld and Hamm, but he nevertheless wrote his Cologne colleagues optimistically : " Don't bow your heads. *Les choses marcheront*—things will go forward."[61]

When Marx had left Cologne in mid-April, the preparations for the unification of the German workers had been well advanced. The Cologne workers' congress planned for May 6 took place and carried through the joining together of the Rhineland-Westphalia workers' organization. But reaction, now moving forward in a concentrated manner, interrupted the hopeful development to an all-German workers' party.

Since mid-April the revolutionary forces and the feudal counter-revolution had been equipping themselves for a new test of strength. At the beginning of May, while Marx was in Hamburg, the decisive battle began.

The immediate cause was the German constitution that had at last been decided on by the Frankfurt National Assembly late in March after months of debate. This liberal constitution had not proclaimed a single democratic German republic, but a hereditary German monarchy that was to include all the German states outside of Austria, with an all-German parliament. Despite these half measures, this constitution of a Reich was an advance over the till then prevailing political and economic division of Germany and the unrestricted hegemony of the feudal rulers.

The bourgeoisie had hoped to bring the revolution to an end with this first bourgeois German constitution. Most of the German princes, however—the king of Prussia and the kaiser of Austria, in the first place—arrogantly rejected the constitution. Thus the implementing of the constitution by the people, against the resistance of the counter-revolutionary government, became the symbol of democratic progress.

The flame of revolution flared up again—first in Dresden. On May 3, the Dresden workers stormed the arsenal, set up barricades and demanded that the Saxon government recognize the constitution. Saxony's king, however, called in the Prussian troops. The Dresden workers, artisans and intellectuals defended the Old City for six days with stubborn courage. Among them were the famous builder, Gottfried Semper, the young Richard Wagner, and Polish and Russian revolutionaries and democrats. On May 9 they had to yield to the enemy's overpowering military forces.

But when the last fighters withdrew from the Dresden barricades to the Erz mountains, uprisings broke out in other parts of Germany—in the Rhineland, in Westphalia, in Baden and in the Palatinate.

The Last Red Issue

When Marx returned to Cologne on May 16, it was a fortress under siege. One week previously, armed uprisings had also broken out on the right bank of the Rhine—in Solingen, Elberfeld and other cities—when the militia called out by the Prussian government to suppress the people's movement refused to obey orders. Engels left immediately for Elberfeld in order to be on the spot in the event that armed conflict developed with the counter-revolution in the city of his birth. Through his immediate intervention in the military defence measures, he quickly won the confidence of the Elberfeld workers. The liberal bourgeoisie and many of its petty-bourgeois friends, however, feared the editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to such an extent that they finally drove him out of the

city again. They also betrayed the workers who were determined on resistance, so that the Prussian command, with an army of over 20,000 men, was able to " pacify " the province at bayonet-point.

Engels returned to the editorial offices of the paper a few hours before Marx. There was no doubt that the warrant for his arrest would be served on him. Marx, on the other hand, expected execution of an order issued against him on May 11 to leave Prussia. The basis for the order was the allegation that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had increasingly promoted " the instigation of subversion against the government, its violent overthrow and the creation of a social republic." The order stated further : " If he does not voluntarily carry out the demand served on him, then he is to be taken across the border by force."[62]

The Prussian military state felt itself strong enough now, after the bloody crushing of the revolutionary uprisings in Saxony and in the Rhineland by Prussian battalions, to liquidate the newspaper it feared through the foregoing devious measures. Despite the order for his expulsion, Marx attempted to arrange for the further publication of the paper. To this the government replied that it would also banish all the other editors from the land. Dronke and Weerth were in fact so expelled, and Engels, Wilhelm and Ferdinand Wolff were proceeded against in court.

" There was nothing to be done about it," Engels later wrote, " as long as an army corps stood behind the government. We had to give up our fortness, but we withdrew with weapons and baggage, with a brass band and the flying banner of the last red issue."[63] This final issue of May 19 was printed in red from the first to the last line and distributed in many thousands of copies. With it, Marx and his comrades fashioned a worthy memorial to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. They warned the people of Cologne against hopeless putsches which would only benefit the counter-revolution. Their appeal to the workers ended with the words : " The editors of the *Neue Rheinische*

Zeitung thank you, in this farewell, for the sympathy shown them. Their last word will always and everywhere be : '*Emancipation of the working class*' ! "[64] To the enemy, however, Marx declared : " *We are implacable, and we ask no sympathy from you* . . . We have vindicated the revolutionary honour of our native land."[65]

In the powerful poem, *A Word of Farewell from the Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, by Marx's comrade Freiligrath, the last number announced with deep revolutionary optimism :

> Now ade, now ade, you struggling world,
> Now ade, you fighting armies !
> Now ade, you powder-blackened fields,
> Now ade, you swords and spears !
> Now ade,—but not for ever ade !
> They do not kill the spirit, you brothers !
> Soon I will arise, shaking my chains,
> Soon I will return with arms in hand.[66]

The first daily newspaper of the revolutionary proletariat now ceased to exist—the first paper in which scientific communism was the basis of its entire work. In its columns, Marx, Engels and their collaborators implemented those principles which are to this day still characteristic of the revolutionary socialist press. Firm in principle and tactically flexible, scientific and partisan, mobilizing and organizing the masses, popular and polemical—these attributes, in the words of Lenin, made it possible for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to become " the best, unrivalled organ of the revolutionary proletariat." [67]

Once again only the road to exile remained for Marx. But first the money had to be raised to pay the paper's creditors, the wages of the type-setters and printers, the bills of the paper suppliers, the fees of the correspondents, and the emergency needs of those colleagues hounded by warrants of arrest. Karl and Jenny sacrificed everything they had left—making a total contribution of 7,000 thaler in the two revolutionary years.

Nothing remained for the family except Jenny's silverware, which was immediately pawned so that they would at least have money for their immediate needs.

While Jenny and the three little children journeyed to her mother in Trier, Marx and Engels went to southwest Germany. Here the strength of the revolutionary movement remained unbroken. Under the leadership of the radical petty-bourgeoisie, the popular masses had become stronger in Baden and the Palatinate through fraternity with the Baden army, and had begun an armed uprising. They demanded recognition of the Reich constitution by their government ; the revolutionary uprising which now began—if firmly conducted—could have advanced beyond the immediate aim to the struggle for a democratic republic.

Marx and Engels hastened to Frankfurt. There they attempted to persuade the radical petty-bourgeois democrats to call the rebels of Baden and the Palatinate to Frankfurt to protect the National Assembly. They preached to deaf ears. In Mannheim, they also sought to persuade the leaders of the Baden revolutionaries to have the people's army march to Frankfurt, but again without success. It was the same in Karlsruhe, Speyer and Kaiserslautern : the petty-bourgeois leaders everywhere remained unconvinced and merely watched passively while the regiments of the Prussian king advanced deeper into the province as hangmen of the revolution.

At last, at the beginning of June, the two friends separated in Bingen. Marx travelled to Paris, commissioned by the democrats in the Palatinate to negotiate with the French comrades about support for the rising in Germany. But in mid-June the democratic party also suffered a final defeat in Paris.

Marx now followed the reports from southwest Germany with feverish anxiety. He knew that the members of the Communist League were everywhere in the forefront of the many thousands of armed workers who were fighting with deathless courage against the superior Prussian forces. He was filled with

pride that the Communists were the bravest. Among them was Friedrich Engels, who fulfilled his revolutionary duty as an adjutant in a volunteer corps and thus guaranteed that "the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was honoris causa also represented in the Palatinate-Baden army."[68] They also included many of his most intimate comrades-in-arms from Cologne, who had fought shoulder to shoulder with him. At the beginning of July the reports from the scene of the struggle became ever more disquieting. With three army corps, the counter-revolution swept across the province of Baden. The revolutionary people's army had to retreat, step by step, and at last had to withdraw across the border into Switzerland. Joseph Moll, the brave fighter, had already fallen in combat. The Prussian military strangled the uprising with swift mock trials and bloody reprisals.

The defeat of the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army meant the end of the revolution. Reaction in Germany, just as in France, was again in full possession of its powers. It used these ruthlessly, in Paris no less than in Berlin and Vienna.

Marx had hardly been reunited with his beloved wife and children, had hardly moved into a little flat in Rue de Lille, when one of the notorious police sergeants appreared with an order from the bourgeois French government : he was to leave Paris at once and was restricted to residence in the swampy district of Brittany. That would have signified certain death for the often ailing children. Marx rejected this "disguised murder attempt."[69] With great effort he managed to scrape together enough money to go to London.

Chapter IV

1849–1864

Balance of the Revolution

arx arrived in London on August 26, 1849. This time he did not come to England to pursue his economic studies, as in 1845, or to fight for his theoretical views before the representatives of the international proletariat, as in the autumn of 1847. The agents of reaction strengthened once more, had driven him, along with many thousands of other refugees, into exile. The counter-revolution revenged itself on democrats and patriots all over the continent through pursuit and arrests, through prison sentences and deportations. It sought to extinguish the political career of every patriot through an endless chain of prohibitions and persecutions.

Marx made the trip to England alone. His wife and children had to wait in Paris till he could arrange the money for their fares.

Engels was in Switzerland. Shortly before his departure from Paris, after weeks of apprehension about his friend, Marx had received a letter from him to the effect that he was alive, and replied immediately : " Dear Engels ! I have endured a great deal of anxiety for you."[1] And a little later : " In London I have *positive* perspectives for the financing of a German journal . . . You must therefore come to London at once. In addition, it will be better for your safety. The Prussians would shoot you for a double reason : 1) because of Baden, 2) because of Elberfeld."[2] Marx was not one to be overcome by pessimism—despite the triumpant clamour of the counter-revolutionaries, despite the dark prospect of this new exile. The revolutionary struggle would continue, only with other methods, in other forms, and with other tactics.

London, with its more than 2,000,000 inhabitants, was then the greatest city on earth. It was the capital of the most highly developed capitalist country, the workshop of the world. In the spring of 1848 the European revolution had also knocked on England's door, when the greatest English workers' movement, the Chartists, called mass demonstrations for extension of basic democratic rights. But the movement had suffered such a heavy defeat that its revolutionary force was extinguished for a long time.

Now, after the defeat of the European revolution, England —and especially London—became a centre for political emigrants, alongside Switzerland and the United States of America. It was to be the last station in Marx's life as a refugee. At the same time, or a little later, the most active members of the Communist League also arrived. The London branch of the League became a gathering place for members of the German League who had emigrated. The legally operating Communist Workers' Educational Association now also awoke to new activity. Small wonder that the many worker-refugees from Germany, finding themselves unemployed and penniless, suddenly transferred to a strange country whose language, customs and habits they did not know, and from whose government they

were viewed with suspicion—small wonder that these emigrants turned for help to the same Communists who in Germany had showed them the way in the revolutionary struggles.

Marx saw himself confronted by a multitude of tasks. Together with Heinrich Bauer, Karl Pfänder, Johann Georg Eccarius, the publicist Sebastian Seiler and other comrades he set up a new central bureau of the League. Its immediate task was support for the political refugees from Germany. In September, Marx proposed to a general meeting of the Workers' Educational Association that a committee be set up to help in this work. The meeting agreed and elected Marx chairman of the committee. Heinrich Bauer and Karl Pfänder were also named to it. A number of members of the committee were also in dire straits, but they decided not to accept anything for themselves from the solidarity fund, and to give priority to their class comrades and other political refugees. For Marx that was a self-evident expression of communist morality.

Marx devoted a great deal of time and energy now to the solidarity committee. It was necessary to find ever new sources of aid, to devote wearisome labours to small details, to write letters, to visit sympathizers and to give hope to the discouraged. Marx knew from his own experiences how much courage and strength this solidarity gave the harrassed revolutionaries. He himself struggled with the bitterest poverty during these months.

Jenny, the three children and Lenchen arrived from Paris in mid-September. With Georg Weerth's help, Jenny later related, " a larger flat in Chelsea was hastily found, since the time was coming ever closer when a more peaceful roof over my head would be important. On November 5 . . . my poor little Heinrich was born."[3] Thus the problems of the parents became even greater. Not even Engel was in a position to help. After a sea voyage of five weeks from Genoa, he arrived in London completely without money. But no matter how all these cares weighed heavily on Marx, they did not bend him.

He did everything to shield the worker-refugees from hunger. At the same time he exerted himself to bring the proletarian revolutionaries in exile together again, to strengthen the central bureau of the Communist League and the Communist Workers' Educational Association, and to re-establish connections with the League members who had remained in Germany. This was important, since the spokesmen of the petty-bourgeois democrats among the emigrants were attempting to unite all the German refugees under their leadership and to get the workers to give up their independent class organizations. In order to prevent this, Marx redoubled his efforts to reorganize the Communist League quickly and to explain to the worker-refugees the class tasks that confronted them. Like all the other League members, he too at that time still expected that the German revolution would break out again in the near future. In that event the working class would have to have a party that operated independently and that would prevent the majority of the proletariat from merely following in the rear of the petty-bourgeois.

At the beginning of 1850 he began to invite the most active members of the League to his home, in order to discuss theoretical questions with them. At about the same time he gave a series of lectures on economic themes and the Communist Manifesto to the Communist Workers' Educational Association, made up then mostly of German worker-refugees. His hearers were joined by a young student refugee who had fought against the counter-revolution in Baden with arms in hand and then fled to London via Switzerland. His name was Wilhelm Liebknecht. He was soon to become a loyal pupil, friend and comrade-in-arms of Marx and Engels.

To make the " secret " of capitalist exploitation understandable to the workers, Marx had his own method. Liebknecht later explained it as follows : " He introduced a proposition, as concisely as possible, and then explained it at greater length, always exerting the greatest care to avoid expressions that the

workers could not understand. Then he asked for questions. If there were none, he proceeded to examine his hearers, and he did it with such pedagogical skill that no loophole, no misunderstanding escaped him . . . When teaching, he used a blackboard, on which he wrote his formulas—including those from the opening of *Das Kapital* which have become so well-known to us."[4]

Marx devoted special attention in the first months of his London exile to the founding of a new press organ. It was his aim to explain in it what lessons had emerged from the revolution for the future struggle, for the strategy and tactics of the proletariat. Such a journal was vital for the political orientation of the proletarian revolutionaries scattered over all the world ; but bringing it into being was most difficult, especially in terms of the money required for its publication.

It was planned to bring it out under the now famous name, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, not as a daily newspaper, however, but as a periodical, " a political-economic review." It was to be the organ of the Communist League and be distributed, not only through bookshops, but by League members as well, and in this manner to be drawn directly into the propaganda activities of the League. After endless preparations, the first issue of the new *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Political-Economic Review*, at last appeared in Hamburg early in March 1850 in 2,500 copies. The second issue followed in the same month. Four other numbers appeared during the year. The most important and most comprehensive articles came from Marx and Engels. It was in the review that Marx published his *Class Struggles in France, 1848—1850*, and Engels his *The German Movement for a Reich Constitution*, and *The German Peasant War*. These works were of the greatest importance for the further development of the theory and tactical orientation of the working class after the revolution. But the distribution of the journal in Germany encountered great difficulties. The book-dealers were fearful of the political and material risk. Most of those who had promised

distribution went back on their word, so that Marx had to give up the project by the end of 1850 with great regret.

At home the poverty had in the meantime become unimaginable. Jenny described her life in a letter to Joseph Weydemeyer, an intimate family friend, at the end of March 1850 : " Since wet-nurses here are exorbitant in price, I decided to feed my child myself, despite constant terrible pains in the back and breast. The poor little angel, however, drank in so much of my own troubles and unspoken anxiety that he became chronically ill, lying day and night in sharp pain. He has not slept a single night since he came into the world—two to three hours at the most. More recently he was attacked by terrible cramps, so that he has been swinging constantly between death and miserable life. In this painful condition he sucked so vigorously that my breast was wounded and split. Blood often streamed into his quivering little mouth. Thus I sat one day when our landlady . . . came in . . . and demanded the 5 pounds we still owed her. When we were unable to pay it at once . . . two officials came into the house to lay a seizure on all my little possessions, beds, linen, clothes, everything—even the cradle of my poor little child, the better toys of the girls, who stood there with hot tears. They threatened to take away everything in two hours. I then lay on the bare floor with my freezing child.

" The next day we were supposed to vacate the house. It was cold, rainy and gloomy. My husband searched for a flat, but nobody wanted to take us in when he mentioned four children. At last a friend helped us, we paid off the seizure, and I sold all my beds, in order to pay off the apothecary, the baker, the butcher and the milkman who, made anxious by the scandal of the seizure, suddenly stormed in on me with their bills. The beds were piled up on a cart before the door—and what happens ? It was already late, after sunset, and an English law forbids this. The landlord appears with police and claims some of his possessions could be involved, that we want to steal away with them to a foreign country. In less than five minutes more

Jenny Marx and her eldest daughter, Jenny, in the 1850's

Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Marx's daughters Jenny (left), Laura (right) and Eleanor in the 1860's

A political factory meeting

ADDRESS

AND

PROVISIONAL RULES

OF THE

WORKING MEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION,

ESTABLISHED SEPTEMBER 28, 1864,

AT A PUBLIC MEETING HELD AT ST. MARTIN'S HALL, LONG ACRE, LONDON.

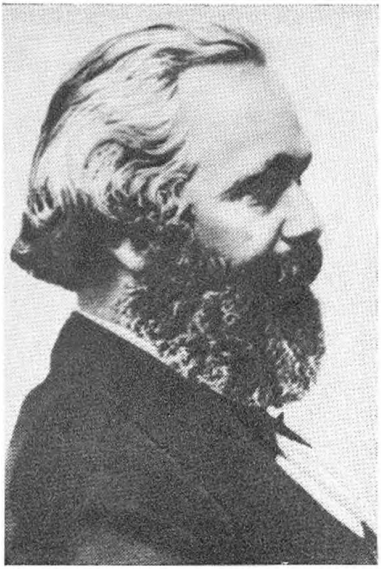
PRICE ONE PENNY.

PRINTED AT THE "BEE-HIVE" NEWSPAPER OFFICE,
10, BOLT COURT, FLEET STREET.

1864.

The title page of the Inaugural Address and the Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association published in London in 1864

The meeting-place of the General Council of the International between June 1868 and February 1872 at High Holborn, London



Karl Marx in 1867

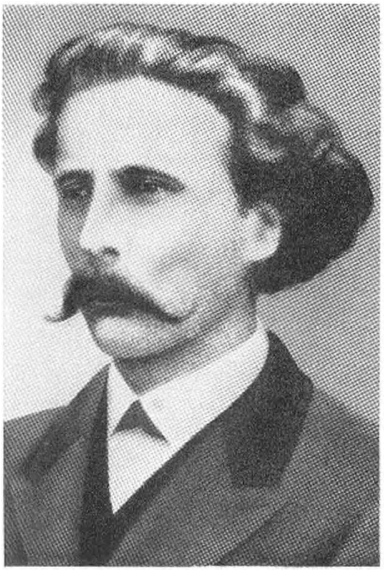
Wilhelm Liebknecht

August Bebel

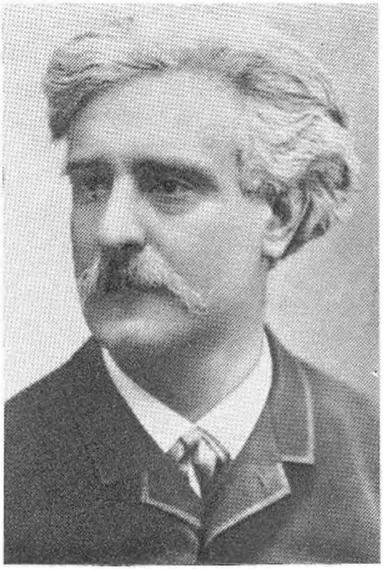
Wilhelm Bracke

Hermann Jung

Johann Philipp Becker



Eugène Dupont



Paul Lafargue

Leo Frankel

Gherman Lopatin

Walery Wroblewski

Friedrich Adolph Sorge

than two or three hundred people stand gaping before our door, the whole mob of Chelsea. The beds come back in. Only after sunrise can they be given to the buyer. When we now, through the sale of all our possessions, are at last able to pay every last penny, I move with my loved ones into our present tiny two rooms in the German Hotel, 1 Leicester Street, Leicester Square, where we have found human shelter for 5½ pounds per week."[5]

But they could not enjoy even this shelter for long. In the same year they had to move to another quarter once again, this time to a miserable dwelling in the Soho district, 64 (now 69) Dean Street, followed soon by another move to 28 Dean street, where they at last remained for some years. But Jenny did not despair in such situations, though they broke the spirit of others. In the harrowing letter cited above she continues : " Do not think that these petty sufferings have bowed me. I know only too well that our struggle is not an isolated one, and how much I belong to the lucky few, to the most favoured, since my dear husband, the pillar of my life, is still at my side."[6]

At a time when even bold revolutionaries felt the heavy hand of despair and resignation, Marx literally did the work of two people. What kept him going was his deep, scientifically founded conviction that his cause was right, his unshakable belief in the power of the working class, and his revolutionary optimism, founded on that belief. Thanks to his extraordinary powers of concentration, and to the understanding that Jenny and Lenchen showed, he was always able to tear himself away from the daily wretchedness and to devote himself to the scientific and political tasks for which he was willing to shoulder all personal sacrifices.

Marx held the view that even the most bitter setbacks, even the bloodiest defeats have a positive side if the people learn from them. The immediate tasks of the Communist League, he believed, were to study and generalize the lessons of the revolution, and to help the working masses understand the experiences of the two revolutionary years. He threw himself into

this work together with Engels. At the end of March—in the same period when Jenny wrote her shattering letter—Marx and Engels laid the conclusions to which they had come before the League's central bureau. The bureau approved the document. It authorized one of its most responsible members, Heinrich Bauer, to go to Germany and to transmit to the communists now working there in illegality the *Address of the Central Bureau to the League of March 1850.*

Marx and Engels could with justifiable pride say at the outset of their Address that the League had proved itself during the revolution in a double sense : " In the first place, through the fact that its members in all localities took part energetically in the movement, that in the press, on the barricades and on the battlefields they stood in the front ranks of the only consistently revolutionary class, the proletariat. The League proved itself further in the fact that its estimate of the movement . . . showed itself to be the only correct one."[7] In other words : scientific communism had passed its first historical test. That was of great significance for the ideological education of the most progressive workers and for the further development of its theory.

But the revolution had not fulfilled its mission. Germany had been neither unified nor transformed into a democratic state. The responsibility for this defeat, Marx and Engels declared, lay with the big bourgeoisie. Instead of leading the popular masses to the overthrow of feudal rule, it had aligned itself with the counter-revolution against its natural allies, the workers and peasants, only to have the rudder of state torn from its own hands in the end. In a new revolution, this role would be taken over by the petty-bourgeoisie, Marx and Engels wrote. They showed how the petty-bourgeoisie, both during the revolution and in the emigration, had tried to make the proletariat into " an appendage of official bourgeois democracy."[8] Marx and his comrades vigorously repudiated the political amalgamation of the workers with the petty-bourgeoisie. They declared the League must work with all its strength " to set up the independent secret

and public organization of the workers' party, alongside the official democrats, and to make every local League organization into the centre and heart of workers' associations, in which the standpoint and the interests of the proletariat is discussed, independently of bourgeois influences."[9]

With this clear orientation, the fight was again unequivocally taken up against all the opportunist attempts to surrender the working class to the ruling classes.

Marx found, from the letters coming in to the central bureau, and from Heinrich Bauer, who had returned to Germany, that the League organizations there had consolidated themselves again. Local organizations had been set up once more in a number of large cities like Cologne, Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Breslau, Hamburg, Leipzig, Mainz, Munich, Nuremberg, Stuttgart, and also in such localities as Schwerin, Würzburg and Hanau. Especially significant was the fact that individual groups and individuals had succeeded in establishing their influence over the many still existing workers', gymnasts', peasants' and day-workers' associations. In June, on the basis of these developments, Marx put another Address to the League before the central bureau together with Engels. It called upon the Communists of Germany to pay the closest attention to these legal organizations of the workers and peasants. Marx saw in this the logical continuation of the tactic pursued by him and his co-workers during the revolution of 1848—49, the further development of their battle for a national revolutionary workers' party.

The tactical suggestions made to the German communists by Marx and Engels in both Addresses to the League supplemented those already laid down before the revolution in the programmatic principles of the Communist Manifesto and in the statutes of the League adopted in 1847.

In the March Address, Marx explained and deepened his earlier view that the working class, in a future revolution, would have to transform the bourgeois-democratic revolution,

step by step, into the proletarian-socialist revolution. In the next revolution the petty-bourgeoisie would do everything to leave the bourgeois social system and the wage-slavery of the workers untouched. But it would be in the interests of the proletariat " to make the revolution permanent till all the smaller or larger owning classes, with more or less wealth, have been driven from power, and the state power is conquered by the proletariat."[10] For that, however, the proletariat must arm itself and create its own organs of power, that is, revolutionary workers' governments ; if necessary, alongside the bourgeois government. " For us it is not a question of changing private property, but only its destruction ; not a question of concealing class contradictions, but of abolishing classes ; not of improving the existing society, but of founding a new one."[11] That was the appeal Marx and Engels directed to the workers. Many decades later, in the preparation and carrying through of the Great October Socialist Revolution, as well as in the revolutionary transformations in the German Democratic Republic and in other socialist countries, this conception of the growth of the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution, further developed by Lenin in terms of conditions in the 20th century, was to play a decisive role. But in the 19th century this task was not yet on the agenda.

No less important were the views Marx developed in his historical-scientific investigations of the European, and above all, the French Revolution. In his works, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850,* and in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* he endeavoured, as Engels put it, " to explain a piece of contemporary history by means of his materialistic approach on the basis of the given economic situation."[12] Just as he had applied historical materialism to the whole of mankind's written history in the Communist Manifesto ; just as he had used it during the revolution to investigate the individual developments with brilliant success—so he now tested dialectical materialism in the analysis of a longer, exceptionally stormy and just concluded period of contemporary history.

In the *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* Marx showed, on the basis of the French republic, that it is impossible to set aside the exploitation of the working class within the framework of the bourgeois republic. For the first time he put forward the view that the proletariat, after its victorious revolution, cannot simply take over the reactionary bourgeois state apparatus with all its military and bureaucratic institutions aimed at oppressing the people, but must destroy it. The crushing of the old state apparatus and the erection of a new state power under the leadership of the proletariat, with the help of which the transition from capitalist to communist society is effected—this Marx called "the dictatorship of the proletariat." From now on this conception would be a firm component of scientific communism's theory of the state. But how this new proletarian state power should be set up in its details—about that Marx did not yet have a precise view at that time.

No publisher in Germany dared to publish this work. In France publication was unthinkable, since in it Marx forcefully accused the upstart Louis Bonaparte, known since 1851 as Napoleon III, emperor of France, of betraying the people. In the United States of America, where Marx's comrade-in-arms Weydemeyer endeavored to bring out an edition, there was not enough money available to pay the printing costs. But on April 9, 1852, Weydemeyer wrote from New York: "Unexpected assistance has at last set aside the difficulties which stood in the way of printing the brochure. After sending off my last letter, I met one of our Frankfurt workers, a tailor, who had also come here this summer. He promptly put his entire savings, 40 dollars, at my disposal."[13] Thus Marx's brochure appeared thanks to the self-sacrificing spirit of an unknown German worker. But only a few copies of this important work managed to get to Europe.

No one yearned more than Marx for a quick revival of the revolutionary movement in Europe and especially in Germany. "*Revolutions are the locomotives of history,*"[14] he had written

in his *Class Struggles in France*, and added, with complete confidence in victory : "*The revolution is dead !—Long live the revolution !*"[15] The expectation that it would break out again in the near future guided him also in the drafting of the two Addresses to the League.

Opportunistic and revisionist politicians and historians of the past and present have vied in mocking the supposed "revolutionary utopianism" and the "foolhardy revolutionary prophesying" of Marx and Engels. Their aim has always been to conceal, behind the "revolutionaryism" they attribute to the founders of scientific communism, their own philistine inaction, their lack of courage, yes, their betrayal of the workers' interests. Above all, however, they have always suppressed the significant fact that Marx and Engels, in the practical political struggle, never let themselves be led by even their most ardent personal wishes, but only by the objective and subjective conditions and possibilities of the proletarian liberation struggle. That is why Marx and Engels did not hesitate, with the courage and frankness of genuine proletarian leaders, to revise their views, in the interests of the working class, when these views were shown to be wrong in practice.

So it was in 1850. In the course of the summer, on the basis of their economic and political studies, they came to the conclusion "that the world trade crisis of 1847 had been the true mother of the February and March Revolutions."[16] They decided further that the economic revival in mid-1848 was the basis for the newly strengthened European reaction. This scientific conclusion necessarily had far-reaching implications for the political struggle. Marx immediately recognized that if the development of a "*new revolution*" was "*only possible as a consequence of a new crisis,*"[17] then the League's tactics would have to be changed accordingly. Instead of immediate preparations for an impending revolution, the communists would have to turn to the long-term and patient building up of the forces of the *future* revolution. For that the further development and propagation

of scientific communism was necessary, as well as the training of revolutionary proletarian cadres.

This logical estimate, based on an historical-materialist analysis of the objective facts, evoked disappointment and rejection among most of the petty-bourgeois emigrants. Marx had foreseen this, since barren playing at revolution had in the meantime become the way of life of the petty-bourgeois emigrants. But even some members of the League's central bureau did not understand the changed situation. They believed they could make the revolution " happen " at some appointed time. They fashioned endless new utopian plans for an immediate armed assault, and believed that the proletariat would immediately come to power in the next revolutionary upswing. Marx tried to make clear to them in patient discussions that the workers' party could not base its political line on subjective wishes, but only on objective conditions. At a meeting of the central bureau on September 15 he declared : " The minority replaces the critical viewpoint with a dogmatic one, the materialistic viewpoint with an idealistic one. Instead of the real situation, the *wish alone* is made the driving wheel of the revolution."[18] The fraction led by Willich and Schapper stubbornly held to its adventurist and " putschist " viewpoint. Marx opposed this with the declaration that the German proletariat was still too undeveloped, that it would need decades of revolutionary struggle, not only to change the existing situation, but " to change itself and to become capable of exercising political rule."[19]

All the attempts at persuasion were unavailing. Revolutionary impatience and theoretical immaturity marred the ability of even an old communist and friend of Marx like Karl Schapper to see reality clearly. Marx proposed that the central bureau should transfer its location to Cologne. He was guided in this by the fact that Willich's supporters had gained the upper hand among the London emigrees, while in Germany the majority of the League members who stood directly in the struggle recognized the correctness of Marx's viewpoint. The majority ap-

proved this proposal. The Willich-Schapper fraction remained in opposition to the decision and set up a separate league. They were soon expelled from the Communist League by the central bureau in Cologne.

The Cologne central bureau, expecially its leading figure, Dr. Ronald Daniels, a close friend of Marx and Engels, carried on its work on the basis of Marx's viewpoint. It endeavoured to strengthen its organizational influence over the local organizations. The Cologne people urged Marx to bring out a new edition of *The Communist Manifesto*, began to issue the *Collected Essays* of Marx, and planned a new Communist publication. On May 9, 1851, Engels wrote confidently to Marx : "We will soon have an organ again, which we need, and in which we will be able to refute all attacks."[20]

But these hopes were doomed to disappointment. A few days later, in mid-May, the members of the Cologne central bureau and a number of League members in other parts of Germany were arrested.

The Prussian government had no intention of merely arresting leading members of the League. Its aim was the complete destruction of the League and the rooting out of the ideas of Marx and Engels in Germany. On June 3 the Prussian ministry devoted a special sitting to the arrests. A large number of police agents, led by police councillor Stieber, were sent to London to spy on Marx and to turn up "incriminating evidence" for the planned trial of the "Marx Party." The hounding of the Communist League was made into a top priority state action, in which even the Prussian Interior and Foreign Ministries participated.

The questioning of the arrested Communists yielded nothing that could be used as evidence for a "conspiracy." But since "Communist plots" had to be brought to light at any cost, and since the king personally had made such a demand, the police concentrated on the creation of falsified material, the forging of stoolpigeons' reports and the finding of renegades. They needed

one and a half years for this dirty work, so that it was not till October 1852 that the trial could be opened against the arrested Communists before a Cologne jury. By now, as a result of the government terror, the activity of the League in Germany had been practically crippled.

As soon as the report of the first arrests had reached Marx, he began to do everything he could to lighten the lot of those involved. He had no doubts whatsoever that Prussian reaction intended, with this attack on the Communists, to strike at and destroy the entire democratic movement in Germany. He therefore considered it all the more necessary to utilize the trial to pillory the ruling Prussian police regime itself. He worked especially to uncover the infamous blackmailing and stoolpigeon methods of the Prussian government. At first, in newspaper articles, he attacked the Prussian justice authorities for their constant delay of the trial. Then, during the whole of the autumn of 1852, he worked tirelessly, with the help of friends, to expose the intrigues of the police, and to make the necessary information available to the legal counsels of the accused through devious routes.

How things went in those weeks and months in the tiny flat of the Marx family Jenny described in a letter dated October 28 : "You can imagine that the 'Marx Party' is active day and night, and has work to perform with head, hands and feet . . . Everything that the police has brought forth is a lie. They steal, falsify, smash desks, swear false witness, and claim the right to do all this against the Communists, who stand *hors de la société* (outside of society) ! . . . All the evidence of the falsifying must be produced from here. My husband is thus kept busy all day and late into the night. To prove the police falsification, we had to get notarized evidence from the landlord ; the handwriting of Liebknecht and Rings, the alleged writers of the minutes, similarly had to be notarized. Everything must then be copied out 6—8 times, to be sent on to Cologne in various ways, through Frankfurt, through Paris, and so on, since all corres-

pondence between my husband and Cologne is opened and confiscated. It has become a struggle between the police on one side and my husband on the other side, my husband being charged with the whole revolution and even the conduct of all the trials . . . The fight against this official power that has money and all the instruments of battle is naturally very interesting, and all the more honourable if it should result in a victory for us, since there is money, power and everything else on the other side, while we often don't know even where to get the paper for letters, etc. etc. . . .

" A whole office has been set up in our home. Two or three people write, others run errands, still others scrape the pennies together, so that the writers can continue to exist, and be able to produce evidence of the most unimaginable scandals on the part of the old official world. Through it all my three children sing and whistle and get bumped into by their papa. What doings ! "[21]

Jenny's hopes that the trial might " result in a victory "[22] were not fulfilled. After the exposure of the uncounted and unprecedented police falsifications, which were unconditionally supported by the Prussian government, " the jurors were no longer free to find the accused guilty or not guilty," Marx wrote. " They now had to find the accused guilty—or the government."[23] In the face of such a decision, most of the jurors, without exception members of the ruling classes—*Junkers*, bourgeois and state officials—showed themselves to be spineless subjects of their royal ruler. They pronounced most of the accused guilty and sentenced them to long terms in prison.

But their decision was a Pyrrhic victory for the Prussian state. Thanks to Marx's tireless work in tracking down and making public their dirty stoolpigeon intrigues, the Cologne Communist trial became a moral defeat for the Prussian police and justice apparatus.

Marx worked up the material he had gathered about the Cologne trial into a blooklet, *Disclosures About the Communist*

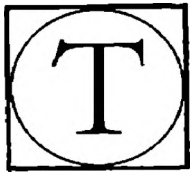
Trial in Cologne. He did not content himself with the exposure of the base falsifications and blackmail of the police and organs of justice. His aim was to show that such infamies were not casual degeneracy, but typical features of the Prussian police and military state, and that the witchhunt against the Communists was only the signal for a great offensive against all the democratic forces. Marx emphasized that a conspiratorial, adventurist tactic, such as the prosecution officials tried to attribute to the Communist League, was incompatible with the historical mission of the Communists : to strengthen the class-consciousness of the working class and to create a mass proletarian party. Using the Willich-Schapper fraction as an example, Marx showed that political adventurism separates the party from the masses, leads to division and thereby harms the workers' movement immeasurably.

At the beginning of March 1853 Marx received the bad news that the entire edition of the *Disclosures* booklet, printed in Switzerland, had been confiscated by the police at the German border. But with the help of friends in North America, especially Weydemeyer, the booklet was published in a German-American newspaper, and thanks to Engels' financial support, a special printing of the newspaper also reached the Rhineland.

Immediately following the Cologne Communist trial, Marx introduced a resolution in the London organization of the League for its dissolution. The resolution also stated that the further existence of the League on the Continent, where it was in any case now no longer capable of working, should be considered as "*no longer suited to the times.*"[24] The resolution was approved. Marx and Engels knew only too well that a force like the workers' movement, produced by modern society, could be hemmed in, yes, even thrown back, by persecution and suppression, but that its inevitable development could never be held up. Engels wrote his friend confidently : "They cannot erase from history the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the Manifesto and *tutte quante* (everything else), and all their screaming will not help them in

the least."[25] That the trail blazed by the Communist League, the first party of the German and international working class, would not be forgotten in the years of reaction that followed in Germany—that Marx himself guaranteed, together with Engels, in his continuing and tireless labours.

Refugee Life



he years 1849 to 1853 were the most difficult in the life of the Marx family, which was already more than filled with poverty and want.

During precisely those weeks when Marx worked feverishly for the saving of his fellow-fighters on trial in Cologne, poverty literally threatened to crush him at home. On September 8, 1852, he wrote to Engels :

" Your letter arrived today in a very tense atmosphere. My wife is sick, Jennychen is sick, Lenchen has a sort of ' nerve-fever.' I could not, and cannot now, call the doctor, since I have no money for medicine. For eight or ten days I have been feeding the family bread and potatoes, but it is doubtful that I can manage to get some today. This diet was naturally not helpful . . .

" In this manner I put off till the beginning of September all the creditors who, as you know, receive only bits and pieces of payment. Now the storm is general . . .

" The best and most desirable thing that could happen would be for the landlady to throw us out of the house. I would then at least be relieved of paying the sum of £ 22. But she is hardly that obliging. In addition, the baker, the milkman, the tea-boy, the green grocer, and the old butcher bills. How shall I get out of this devilish mess ? "[26]

Three months later, when he sent his booklet about the Cologne trials to America, when even his coat and shoes had had to be taken to the pawnshop, he wrote with bitter humour in the accompanying letter that " the author, through the absence of sufficient covering for his rear and his feet, is as good as interned, and in addition, sees *a really unbelievable wretchedness* threatening to break *over his family*."[27]

This " really unbelievable wretchedness " actually did engulf the Marx family from August 1849 on, without pause. Marx rarely let on about it, however. He held in contempt those craven bourgeois emigrants who went about the country with a collection-cup, to beg a comfortable existence for themselves. In complete understanding with his wife, Marx rejected the idea of taking on a bourgeois career with a fixed post which would offer him material security, but which, under the then existing conditions, would separate him permanently, or at least for a long time, from his scientific and political work for the working class. This decision cost him and his family uncounted sacrifices. But in all the bitter years there was never a moment in which this decision caused Karl and Jenny regret. " I must follow my goal through thick and thin," he once wrote, " and not permit bourgeois society to turn me into a money-making machine."[28]

Not all his earlier colleagues understood this decision. Some had made their peace with the old society, some even deserted to the enemy. It was precisely these weaklings and renegades who were loudest in reviling the " Marx party " and its leader

with slanders and denunciations. But Marx continued on his course without wavering, even when poverty sometimes became unbearable.

He had to endure all the horrors of the *emigré* life. One valuable after another had to be pawned, even clothing and bedsheets. Time and again he had to interrupt his work to ask his many creditors for more credit and patience. The earnings from his literary activity were slim, for who would dare publish Marx in the period of reaction that had now settled over Europe ? Bourgeois society took revenge in this manner on the leaders of the proletariat. It now sought to achieve through economic power what it had not been able to achieve through court trials and provocations. In the Marx household there was often no money for writing-paper and stamps, let alone for the newspapers that were essential for his literary activity. And the family was permanently threatened by homelessness.

To the daily poverty, the oppressive debts to the landlord, the shopkeepers, the doctor even worse troubles were added. The children suffered not only from want but also from the damp English climate. The little Heinrich Guido, just turned one year old, died on November 19, 1850, from pneumonia. This was a completely unexpected and stunning blow for the parents. " My pain was so great," Jenny wrote. " It was the first child that I lost. Ach, I didn't know then what other suffering lay before me, compared to which everything, everything else would be trivial."[29]

Barely one and a half years later the little Franziska, the daughter born in March 1851, followed Heinrich to the grave. " For three days the poor child struggled with death," wrote the mother, bowed with grief. " Her poor dead body rested in the tiny rear room ; we all gathered in the front room, and when night came, we bedded ourselves on the floor . . . The death of the dear child came at the time of our bitterest poverty. Our German friends were precisely then not in a position to help us . . . So I ran, out of the anxiety in my heart, to a French

refugee who lived in the neighborhood and had visited us. I asked him for help in our terrible need. With the friendliest sympathy, he at once gave me £ 2, and with that I paid for the little coffin in which my poor child now sleeps. She had no cradle when she was born, and even her last little ' shelter ' was long denied her."[30]

The heaviest blow to strike Karl and Jenny was the death of their son Edgar, their " Musch," as the family called him. He fell ill three years after Franziska's death, apparently with tuberculosis. For days and nights Marx stayed by the bed of his dearly loved son. But all the care of the parents was futile. " The poor Musch has passed away," Marx wrote to Engels, still stricken, on April 6, 1855. " He went to sleep (literally) in my arms today between 5 and 6 o'clock. I will never forget how your friendship eased this terrible time for us. You understand my sorrow for the child."[31] A few days later he wrote again : " The house is naturally desolated and orphaned since the death of the dear child, who was its animating spirit. It is indescribable how we all miss the child. I have already lived through all kinds of misfortune, but only now do I know what real tragedy is."[32]

Both Marx and Jenny were close to despair. In the hope of lightening the first few days following Edgar's burial, they travelled to Manchester, to spend a short time with the ever-faithful friend of the family, Friedrich Engels.

It was thanks to Engels that Marx did not ultimately break down in the grinding poverty and insecurity of his existence. When Engels, in the summer of 1850, together with Marx, came to the conclusion that the revolutionary crisis in Germany was over, and that as a consequence a return to the homeland was for the time being out of the question, he had decided to earn his living by going into business again. He had gone to Manchester in November 1850 to reenter the firm of Ermen and Engels. It had been a difficult sacrifice for Engels to devote the main portion of his time and energy once more to " wolfish

commerce"[33] instead of to his scientific studies. But he had recognized that it was the only way to make it possible, or at least easier, for Marx to continue his scientific and political work in the interests of the proletariat, and at the same time to shield his friend and the latter's family from hunger. Without complaint and without posturing Engels took this sacrifice upon himself. And just as naturally, though with the greatest gratitude and pride for such a friend, Marx accepted this evidence of boundless self-sacrifice, after having himself given all his worldly possessions and talents to the working class before and during the revolution.

From now on financial aid went at first sporadically and then regularly from Manchester to London. Especially in later years, Engels sent five and ten pound notes monthly, and sometimes even weekly, money which was hopefully awaited, which eased the situation for the Marx family greatly, but which even then, despite the restricted standards the family imposed on itself, still could not entirely banish poverty for the large family.

Father Marx Studies

In the autumn of 1850, when Marx opposed the adventurist incitement of Willich and other League members, he did so from the standpoint that the new stage, in which the revolution did not stand immediately on the agenda, demanded a new tactic on the part of the communists. It was necessary to root out idle, utopian plans of conquest, but equally necessary, at the same time, to forge weapons for the new revolutionary crisis that had to be expected in time. The new revolution, as demonstrated by the bitter lessons of 1848—49, would have to find a trained proletarian party in readiness, equipped with a knowledge of the laws of development of society.

Marx transformed this view into action in a drastic manner—despite the fact that it drew on him the hostility of revolution-

ary phrasemongers. His " battlefield " now became the reading room of the British Museum, which then had the greatest and best library in the world. Here, when not interrupted by sickness in the family or consultations with friends, he sat daily, from nine in the morning till seven in the evening, bowed over books.

What an unimaginable treasure was this library ! Marx threw himself into the study of the history of politics and culture, of the natural sciences and technology, of diplomacy and other sciences. He spared neither time nor energy to fill in the gaps in his knowledge. But at the centre of his researches now stood political economy. Till 1848 he had devoted himself primarily to laying the philosophical foundation of scientific communism and the study of history ; in the revolutionary years he had concentrated on the development of his political ideas ; now in the 1850's and 60's he concerned himself primarily with political economy. His aim was, in the all-sided elaboration of the economic theory of the working class, to complete the scientific task, the solution of which he had often begun but which he had always had to defer because of other duties.

He and Engels, in their previous works, had shown that the mode of production of material life is the foundation and point of departure for the social, political and intellectual life of society. Now the point was to deepen the theory on the basis of laying bare the laws leading to the emergence, the development and the decline of capitalism. That required a critical stock-taking and mastering of the entire body of previous economic theories about the capitalist mode of production. From 1850 on Marx dedicated all his energies to this task.

At the beginning he hoped to be able to complete his planned work on the economy of capitalism in a few months. But time and again new questions arose which had to be studied and cleared up. " The democratic simpletons for whom enlightment comes ' from above ', naturally, don't find such exertions necessary," Marx said sarcastically. " Why should they plague themselves with economic and historical material, these ' Sun-

day children ' ? Everything is really so simply, the brave Willich used to tell me. Everything so simple ! In their empty heads.—Remarkably simple fellows ! "[34]

Marx's example inspired others. His pupils and comrades also used every free minute left them from the hard struggle for bread for study. They were a small group, but there were people among them who were to contribute greatly in the following decades to the German and international workers' movement—Wilhelm Liebknecht and Friedrich Lessner, Johann Georg Eccarius and the cabinet-maker Georg Lochner. Forty years later Liebknecht still reminisced about Marx's stubborn insistence : " *To learn ! To learn !* That was the categorical imperative that he often enough threw at us, but which already confronted us in his example, yes, in the mere look of this always powerfully working spirit."[35] Thus the intellectual weapons for the later battles of the German and international working class were forged in London at precisely the time when reaction believed it had triumphed forever in Germany. Engels was able to write to a friend with satisfaction : " To be sure, we also have people among us who live by the principle : why do we have to grind away ? ; That's what Father Marx is for, whose job it is to know everything. But, on the whole, the Marxian Party plugs away pretty hard . . ."[36]

How Marx proceeded with his studies he himself described in 1859 : " The enormous material for the history of political economy that is piled up in the British Museum, the favourable vantage-point London offers for the observing of bourgeois society, finally, the new stage of development which seemed to have opened up with the discovery of Californian and Australian gold—all this decided me to go back to the beginning again and to work my way critically through the new material. These researches led, partly in themselves, to seemingly quite separate disciplines, in which I had to remain for a longer or shorter time. However, the time available to me was reduced by the urgent necessity of working for a living."[37]

This opportunity of earning a living Marx finally found as a contributor to the *New York Daily Tribune*. At a time when the workers' press was fully suppressed on the Continent, when the bourgeois-democratic press had also disappeared, and the big bourgeois-liberal press had sunk to the level of being mere servile organs of feudal reaction, the *New York Daily Tribune*, with 200,000 subscribers, represented progressive bourgeois tendencies in America. It came out against the slave trade in the southern states of the USA and sometimes even flirted with socialist ideas. Marx had come to know the editor, Charles Dana, in Cologne in 1848. Now Dana proposed that he write a weekly article for the paper.

Marx agreed. At last, an opportunity at least to earn something ! But how could this journalistic wage-labour for a bourgeois newspaper square with the political principles of a communist ? Marx knew, of course, that Dana and the owners of the widely distributed paper would not tolerate the open propagating of communist ideas. This task had to be carried out in other ways, especially through the Communist League members who had emigrated to the USA. But Dana had already recognized through the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* that Marx was the most consistent and most capable exponent of democracy, although he was not able to perceive that this grew out of Marx's proletarian position. What interested Dana was the strengthening of the democratic movement in the USA, and Marx was to contribute to that end. Marx did precisely that, with all his power, since the strengthening of the democratic movement was also in the immediate interests of the American proletariat. Here he followed his principle : to utilize every bourgeois freedom, no matter how restricted, every facility of bourgeois society—from parliament through the press to the courts—in order to be able to speak to the people, especially the workers, and to make them conscious of their highest interests and their historical tasks.

Marx began his contributions to the paper in the autumn of

1851. Engels helped him, translating Marx's manuscripts into English in the first years, since Marx at the time still felt himself to be insecure in the language. Engels also wrote many articles and series, which were sent to New York under Marx's name. Marx worked for the paper for ten years.

There was hardly a significant political or social development during this period that Marx and Engels did not deal with in their more than 500 articles in the *Tribune*. Whether the issue was the stubborn struggles of the English working class, or the changing fortunes of the Bonapartist regime in France, or the background reasons for the Crimean war, or the public and secret aims of English foreign policy, or the painful rebirth of the democratic movement in Germany—they always understood how to lay bare the crimes of the capitalist order, to expose the reactionary situation in the European states, and to lead the reader to the conclusion that only the proletariat could abolish the inhuman conditions of the old society. Some of the articles were also reprinted in English newspapers or distributed in England as pamphlets.

Marx by no means restricted himself to Europe. He also began systematically to examine the situation in foreign lands like India and China. He pilloried the robber colonial policy of the capitalist states and with deep sympathy followed the struggle of the peoples for liberation that was developing against the colonial rulers in India and other countries. In these national, anti-colonial freedom movements he saw a support for the revolutionary movement in Europe. "The Indians," he wrote, "will not harvest the fruits of the new social institutions which the British bourgeoisie have set out in their land till in Great Britain itself the present ruling class is thrown out by the industrial proletariat, or till the Indians themselves have become strong enough to throw off the English yoke forever. In any case, however, we can expect sooner or later to be withnesses of the renovation of this great and interesting land."[38] In his articles about China, India and Ireland, which was then under the

colonial rule of England, Marx for the first time put forward the thesis that the revolutionary proletariat must support every movement of liberation in the colonies, because the European workers and the colonial peoples had a common enemy—the bourgeoisie.

For his articles Marx researched all the available literature, statistics and other studies, so that his work for the *Tribune* threatened to rob him of all his time and to keep him back from his researches in the field of political economy. Engels came to the rescue time and again by writing the articles, in order that they could retain the opportunity to influence public opinion, and that Marx could at the same time be certain of his fee.

In Manchester, Engels often worked till late in the night to finish a translation so that it could be sent off with one of the steamers that left for America twice weekly. Marx's reports were generally very comprehensive. " An article for Dana. It must go forth whole, because I have a mass of political things for him for next week. I threw the thing together in the midst of a severe headache. So don't trouble yourself, do the translation freely."[39] So Marx wrote to Engels on October 12. The manuscript reached Engels in Manchester on the morning of October 14, and on the same evening, after his office was closed, he went to work on the translation. That night he wrote to Marx : " Busy at the counting-table the whole day, so that I didn't know where my head was. This evening took tea between 7 and 8 and read the thing. Then on to the translation. Now—11.30—am as far as what I am sending you, till the natural end of the article. At 12 o'clock it must be in the post. You see, you are getting whatever can be done. The rest will be translated immediately . . . In the meantime, finish off your other article . . . Worry only about getting the manuscript to me *early*."[40] On November 29 he wrote : " Over the enclosed article it has turned one o'clock in the morning . . ."[41] Engels spent many of his evening hours in this manner, week after week, month after month.

The close scientific collaboration between Marx and Engels, however, was in no way exhausted by the joint journalistic work for the *Tribune*. Although they were forced for 20 years to live separated in different cities, their unprecedented friendship developed even further during this period. They frequently deplored the fact that they could not, as earlier, live and work in closer proximity, and exchange opinions face-to-face, or test them in verbal cross-fire. It was difficult to make up this lack with occasional visits. All the more lively, however, was their correspondence. There was hardly a week in which Marx did not write his friend, and at times the letters went daily to Manchester. Marx had no secrets from Engels, and there was no area of his life that he did not touch on in his letters.

If the physical separation made intellectual contact more difficult, it also furthered the ripening of many views of Marx and Engels precisely through the written form in which their exchange of opinions took place, allowing as it did a quiet analysis, yet demanding precise formulation. Whole passages from their letters often went almost unchanged into their publicist work. All the scientific and political problems with which Marx was occupied were reflected in his letters to Engels. Problems of philosophy and international politics, of the natural sciences and mathematics, of history, and with unfailing regularity, of political economy, were discussed with Engels in the correspondence. New views were passed on, discussed back and forth, and in the end mutually accepted or thrown out. The letters were filled with a passionate and unflagging pursuit of scientific truth.

In this process a certain division of labour grew up between Marx and Engels in the 1850's. Marx concentrated more on the study of political economy, world history and the foreign policy of the European states, while Engels systematically pushed ahead with research in military science, the science of languages, and then with an especially deep-going study of the natural sciences. Engels' knowledge of military theory and history was

soon so comprehensive that Marx spoke humorously, but proudly, of his " War Minister in Manchester."[42]

Egotism, the spirit of competition or envy were foreign to Marx and Engels, even more, detested. Neither came to an important scientific conclusion, or formed a political opinion, without first getting the judgement of the other. Neither sent a manuscript to the printer—unless time prohibited it—without the other having read it and given advice, so that the ideas and conclusions of the one belonged also to the other. For some works of Engels Marx contributed whole sections and chapters, without his name being mentioned, just as he also time and again called on Engels for reciprocal aid. This was taken for granted by both of them. If Engels sent Marx a query, the latter put everything aside and pursued the information in the British Museum—often for days—until he found the desired material.

All this went on without any fuss. Marx was not fond of effusiveness. Yet once, in one of the most critical hours of his life, after the death of his son Edgar, he put into words what Engels' friendship meant for him : " In all the terrible torment that I have endured in these days, I have been kept upright by the thought of you and your friendship and the hope that we will yet be able to accomplish something sensible in the world together."[43]

To get his articles ready on schedule for the *Tribune* Marx had to work late into the night with increasing frequency. Liebknecht, who in the 1850's was almost a daily visitor to the Marx home, later remembered with wonder : " He worked colossally. And since he was often interrupted during the day —especially in the early period of exile—he found a solution in night work. When we went home in the late evening from one meeting or another, Marx regularly still sat down to work for a few hours. And the few hours always expanded, till in the end he worked through almost the whole night and slept in the morning. His wife tried earnestly to dissuade him—but he would answer with a laugh that this reflected his nature."[44]

But no " nature," no matter how healthy, could endure these long years of overwork without damage. In the mid-1850's Marx began to suffer from growing, prolonged and often painful illnesses, the results of his constant deprivations and exertions.

In his scientific work, Marx was extraordinarily basic and conscientious. His guiding principle was : " The researcher has the duty of making the material his own down to the last detail, to analyze its various forms of development, and to track down their inner connection. Only after this work has been completed can the real movement be shown accordingly."[45] In order to assemble and to study his material, Marx did not draw back from the most tedious and time-consuming drudgery. He carefully checked every bit of information in the literature. He accepted nothing at secondhand, but always sought out the original source. He even compared particulars of secondary importance with the original sources and made extra trips to the library for the purpose. Having already mastered English and French, he also learned Italian and Spanish, and then, as a fifty-year-old, Russian—in order to be able to study the literature in the original languages. He was fond of repeating the maxim : " A foreign language is a weapon in the struggle of life."[46]

For every one of his planned books he piled together comprehensive extracts, tables, bibliographies and all kinds of calculations and notes. He arranged this material by listing and summarizing the contents. He often drafted his thoughts and the results of his researches in the form of an extended study, which for the time being was only for his own clarification and not yet meant for the printer. Only then did he begin with the real working out of the book or brochure.

In the mid-1850's Marx began to set down his thoughts on political economy in manuscript form—but only after he had in long years of painstaking labour worked his way through a fantastic number of books, technical writings, legal journals, parliamentary records, and had analyzed all the available economic and sociological statistics, newspapers, reports on in-

dustry, trade and the stock exchange. At first he looked upon this as only preparatory work. But in 1857, what he had long been predicting came to pass : a worldwide economic crisis. His theoretical view, arrived at through his study of the economic processes of the past and the present, that economic crises regularly arise in capitalism, was now confirmed in practice. His belief in the intimate connection between economic and political development was also shown to be correct once more. The decade of political reaction in Europe was approaching its end. A new period of political mass movements could already be discerned, and with it, the workers' movement would also inevitably awaken again.

The outbreak of the new crisis persuaded Marx to bring his researches to an end for the time being. " I am working like mad all through the night, putting together my economic studies,"[47] he wrote to Engels on December 8, 1857. Ten days later he wrote again : " I am working mightily, mostly till four in the morning."[48] One month later, when he fell ill from the strain, he wrote : " I overdid the night work too much."[49] On November 29, 1858, he could at last inform his friend that Jenny had begun making the fair copy. On January 21, 1859, the fair copy was finished—but could not be sent off. " The unfortunate manuscript is ready," Marx wrote, " but cannot be sent forth, because I don't have a farthing to liberate it and to insure it. The latter is necessary, since I do not have a copy."[50] The greatest theoretician on the role of money did not have the money to mail the first fundamental work about money to the publisher ! But Engels helped out again, so that the manuscript could shortly be sent off to Berlin, where it appeared in June in 1,000 copies under the title, *A Critique of Political Economy, Book One.*

When Marx informed his friend Weydemeyer of publication of the book, he wrote : " I hope to win a victory for our party in the field of science."[51] How could a purely scientific book help the advance of the revolutionary workers' movement ? It

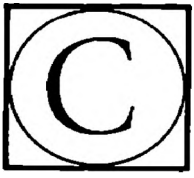
did just that because in it Marx began to solve the phenomenon that had remained a mystery for the bourgeois scientists, or which they had avoided tackling : the essence of capitalist exploitation.

With compelling logic and on the basis of irrefutable evidence Marx showed that the commodity and value are not eternally valid, " naturally evolved " phenomena, but have an historically transient character. He therein made a discovery that was the key to the solution of a whole series of complicated problems in political economy. This was his finding—and the proof—of the double character of the labour congealed in the commodity, the fact that the commodity, on the one hand, possesses a use value—the sum of all useful qualities of a thing that satisfies some human need—and on the other hand, it possesses an exchange value—the abstract socially necessary labour of the commodity-producer required for the commodity. In the same way Marx examined the historical origin, the essence and the function of money in bourgeois society. Thus Marx in this work contributed to the revolutionizing of the science of political economy and took the first steps towards the all-embracing and classical elaboration of his economic theories which later appeared in *Capital.*

A Critique of Political Economy became famous above all through its Preface, in which Marx for the first time outlined for the public the main theses of his materialist interpretation of history in a rounded and systematic manner—those thoughts which he and Engels had discussed 15 years earlier in the unpublished *German Ideology.*

Marx had at first hoped that he would soon be able to follow up the first book of his *Critique of Political Economy* with the next book. These hopes were to be dashed. The necessity of earning a living once more became supreme. To that was added the fact that the revolutionary movements on the continent precipitated by the economic crisis increasingly drew his attention and soon demanded his direct participation as well.

Family and Friends



ountless bourgeois historians and newspaper scribblers have over the years laboured to depict Karl Marx as a power-mad, unfeeling, unapproachable or even embittered man. They apparently think that they can more succesfully combat and defame the ideas of Marxism, which they find so " terrible," if they can transform the intellectual father of these ideas into a monster—an effort that is as tasteless as it is puerile.

Marx was certainly plagued, especially in the 1850's, by poverty, deprivation, illness and other hard blows in a torrent that would have bent, embittered and brought a lesser man to despair. What always kept Marx going, and encouraged him to pursue his work further, even in the most difficult moments of personal misfortune, was his unshakable conviction that he

still had much to contribute to the emancipation of the working class. He never lost his faith in the future. Humour and the joy of living always overcame the poverty and misfortunes in the Marx family and gave the tone to their life together and to their relations with friends. " Against leering poverty there was only a single medicine : to laugh ! Whoever gave in to dark thoughts was lost . . . There was never so much laughter as when things were at their worst with us."[52] Thus Wilhelm Liebknecht described his life with the Marx family in those years in London.

Marx was especially happy in the company of his children. His two daughters, Jenny and Laura, were joined by a third at the beginning of 1855. She was nicknamed Tussy, for Eleanor, and became the spoiled darling of the family. Despite his unbelievable working program, Marx always found time to play with the children. Because of his dark complexion and his black hair the children called him " Mohr " (Moor), a nickname that Engels and other friends also began to use more and more in the mid-1850's. Jenny and the girls also called him " Old Nick," or " Waldgeist " (forest spook). Nicknames were in general loved in the Marx home. The mother like to be called " Mochme," and Lenchen Demuth, " Nim." The daughters had alternating, fun-poking names. Jenny, the eldest, was for a long time " Qui-Qui, Emperor of China." Laura was " Cockatoo." Eleanor was sometimes " Tussy," and sometimes " Quo-Quo, Heir to the Throne of China," and sometimes " Dwarf Alberich."

In his free hours or on walks Marx romped about with the children. They especially loved to ride on his back, or be pulled by him as a horse. Eleanor later related : " Mohr was not only an excellent horse, he was also something much greater—a unique and incomparable story-teller . . . He told stories to my sisters—I was then still little—during promenades, and these stories were not divided up into chapters but into miles. ' Tell us another mile,' the girls would say. I personally, of all the countless and wonderful stories Mohr told me, loved the story

of Hans Röckle best. It lasted months and months, for it was a long story, and in fact never ended."[53]

Marx often read to his children from the fairy tales of the Thousand and One Nights, the Niebelungenlied, Homer's Odyssey, or from the deathless Don Quixote. He discussed these and many other books with them, teaching them to love what was genuine and true, to hate lies and inhumanity, to think and act on their own.

He spoke to them in the same manner about political and religious questions when they grew up. Decades later Eleanor still remembered with gratitude : " We once listened to the magnificent music in a Roman Catholic church. It made such a deep impression on me that I told Mohr about it. Mohr then explained everything to me so clearly and persuasively, in his quiet manner, that from then on I have never experienced the least doubts. And the manner in which he told the story of the carpenter's son, whom the rich killed, so simply and yet with such eloquence ! Time and again I heard him say : ' In spite of everything, we can forgive Christianity much, because it has taught the love of children.' "[54]

In the summer of 1860, Jenny and Laura left school. At great personal sacrifice, the parents made it possible for the girls to continue studying French and Italian privately for a while. For some years they also took lessons in drawing and singing.

In the few hours of idleness that Marx allowed himself, his fondest pastime was the reading of fine literature. He treasured Heine and Goethe, Homer and Dante to such a degree that he knew large portions of their works from memory. He honoured the Greek Aeschylus and William Shakespeare as the greatest dramatists. The works of world literature were for him at the same time a welcome supplement to his historical studies, reflecting their times through the medium of art. He had a special love for the great contemporary realists like the French novelist Balzac, or the English writers, Dickens and Fielding. In their novels they portrayed the social relations of which he

laid bare the economic foundations through the medium of his science.

Jenny shared Marx's love of literature, but the hours she could devote to her favorite writers were few and far between. Along with her duties as mother and housewife, and the exhausting daily cares, many other tasks fell on her shoulders. She was her husband's irreplaceable secretary. She copied out almost all his manuscripts—mostly indecipherable to others—before they were sent to the printers. She relieved her husband also of much of the wearisome and often very annoying negotiations with publishers and editors, and handled the correspondence with countless people. Marx was very proud of his wife, of her acute political judgment, her fine sense of tact, her complete reliability and selflessness. There was hardly a manuscript that he published without Jenny reading it first.

Marx was not one of those who carry their hearts on their sleeve, and since most of the letters between him and Jenny were later destroyed, there are few documents left indicating his respect, attachment and love for his wife. But a letter has remained that most effectively conveys his relationship to Jenny. When she travelled to Trier for a few months to be with her dying mother in the summer of 1856, he wrote to her : " Great passions, which through the nearness of their loved one take on the form of little habits, grow and assume their natural scope again through the magic influence of distance. So it is with my love. You need only to be separated from me through a simple dream, and I know at once that time has only served it as the sun and rain serve the plants—for growth. My love for you, as soon as you are away, appears for what it is,—a giant, in which all my spirit and all the character of my heart are pressed together.

" You will laugh, my sweetheart, and ask how I suddenly come to all this rhetoric ? But could I press your heart to mine, then I would be silent and say nothing. Since I cannot kiss with my lips, I must kiss with my tongue, and create words. I could

in fact compose verses, and imitate the rhymes of Ovid's 'Libri Tristium'—in German, books of lament. He was only exiled by Emperor Augustus. I, however, am exiled from you, and Ovid did not understand that.

"There are in fact many women in the world, and some of them are beautiful. But where can I again find a face in which every expression, every line reawakens the greatest and sweetest memories of my life? Even my never-ending pain, my irreplaceable losses I read in your sweet face, and I kiss my pains away when I kiss your sweet face. 'Buried in her arms, reawakened by her kisses'—that is, in your arms and from your kisses, and I gladly leave to the Brahmins and to Pythagoras their teaching of the rebirth, and to Christianity its teaching of the Resurrection."[55]

Friends and comrades were always welcome in the Marx household, which was filled with the spirit of comradeship. Though they themselves lived mostly in depressingly cramped quarters, Karl and Jenny often took in needy friends, sometimes for months, or sick colleagues like Johann Georg Eccarius, looked after them and shared their last piece of bread with them. Lenchen's sister Marianne found shelter with them for many years.

The most frequent visitor in those years was Wilhelm Liebknecht. He lived only a few streets away. The children had a special love for him. Often, when he was completely penniless, the Marx family had a warm meal for him; and not infrequently it was he who came up with a penny in need, when there was neither milk nor bread for the children in the Marx household.

Life was no bed of roses for any of the old comrades of the Communist League who had found asylum in London. Whether it was Friedrich Lessner, or Johann Georg Eccarius, or Karl Pfänder, or Georg Lochner, or Karl Schapper, who had once again allied himself to Marx in 1856—they all had to struggle for their existence, but they held loyally together and were always very welcome guests in the Marx household. Wilhelm

Wolff, who earned a living in Manchester as a tutor, and Ernest Dronke, who was a merchant in Liverpool, also remained in intimate contact with their former editor-in-chief.

No matter how heavy the burdens of exile, they did not let their heads hang, but encouraged each other, when necessary, with grim humour. They were at times game even for high-spirited pranks. Liebknecht described one such prank that took place at the end of the 1850's :

" One evening Edgar Bauer came to ' the city ' from his home in Highgate for a ' pub crawl.' He knew Marx from Berlin and was not yet estranged from him, despite *The Holy Family*. The problem was—in which pubs between Oxford Street and Hampstead Road to take a drop. There were so many pubs in the district that taking a drop in them, even with the greatest economy, would be a monumental task. Undaunted, however, we worked our way happily to Tottenham Court Road. There we heard loud singing coming from a pub. We went in and found ourselves in a celebration of the Odd Fellows, a society with sickness and burial insurance spread all over England. We got together with some of the celebrators who immediately invited us ' foreigners ' into one of the rooms with English hospitality."[56] There soon developed such tension, with loud and heated disputes, accompanied by raised fists, that Marx, Liebknecht and Bauer had to beat " a passably dignified retreat, not entirely without difficulty."

Outside, in order to stimulate their circulation, they started out on a long-distance race. But it didn't stop there. Their loud calls and mischievous antics—it was long after midnight—" finally called forth the attention of a policeman, who quickly alerted his colleagues at the police station. Immediately police signals were heard. The situation was critical. Fortunately, we were familiar with the terrain ; we took stock of the situation. We stormed forwards, some policemen a little behind us. Marx developed a velocity which I had never attributed to him. And after the wild chase had lasted a few minutes, we succeeded in

turning into a sidestreet and there to run through an alley—a courtyard between two streets, from which we emerged in the rear of the policemen. Now we were safe. They had lost track of us, and we reached our respective homes without further adventures . . . The next morning, rather, at noon of the same day, when I awoke, I was very glad to be in my room, instead of in a London police cell with a member of the 'Holy Family,' Edgar Bauer, and the future author of *Das Kapital,* Karl Marx. But whenever we thought about the nocturnal adventure, we laughed all the same."[57]

When it was at all possible, Marx tried to reserve Sundays for the family, especially the children. The climax of each Sunday's frugal pleasures were the promenades to Hampstead Heath, a somewhat hilly area then just outside London and a favourite place for rambling. Good friends of the family often took part in these promenades, including Liebknecht, who later reported how happy these excursions were :

" The march itself usually took place in the following order. As vanguard, I and the two girls went on ahead—telling stories, or doing gymnastics or hunting wild flowers . . . Behind us came some friends. Then the bulk of the army : Marx with his wife and some Sunday visitor who required a certain amount of attention. And behind these, Lenchen with the hungriest of the guests, who helped her carry the picnic basket. If there was more company, it was divided up between the various army groups. I don't have to say that the marching and battlefield formations changed in accordance with moods or personal needs."

When they had arrived on the heath, they " camped " comfortably, refreshed themselves with what they had brought along, and then, while the children romped about, they usually read the Sunday papers and engaged in concentrated discussions. " But in this idyll there also had to be variety, and then there were races, sometimes wrestling, 'stone-putting' and various other sports. One Sunday we discovered a chestnut tree nearby with ripe chestnuts. Somebody called out, 'Let's see who

can shake down the most chestnuts ! ' He went to work with a hurrah. Mohr set to like mad, and shaking down chestnuts was certainly not his strong side. But he was tireless, like the rest of us. And only when the last chestnut had come down, accompanied by a wild shout of triumph, did the bombardment cease. Days later Marx still could not move his right arm. And I was no better off . . .

" The march formation on the return home was different. The children had tired themselves and brought up the rear with Lenchen, who, now that the picnic basket was empty and the packages were gone, could with springy step take the children to her. Usually a song was sung in chorus. Rarely political songs . . . mostly folksongs, especially songs with deep feeling, and—this is no hunter's story—' patriotic ' things from the ' homeland '—for example, ' Oh, Strasburg, O Strasburg, you beautiful city,' was greatly loved. Or the children sang Negro songs for us and danced to them as well—when their legs had recovered. Talk about politics was banned on the march as strictly as mention of the miseries of exile. On the other hand, there was much talk about literature and art . . .

" With the growing up of the two girls the character of these Sunday wanderings changed—but since there were always children, the youthful element was never absent."[58]

The best friend of the family had been and remained Friedrich Engels. Actually, he belonged to the family just like Lenchen Demuth. Marx's daughters loved him like a second father, and he always thought up new ways to bring them joy and to enrich their poverty-ridden childhood and youth. " It was a festival for the Marx family when Engels sent word that he would come over from Manchester," wrote Paul Lafargue, later Marx's son-in-law. " They talked long in advance of his approaching visit, and on the day of his arrival Marx was so impatient that he could not work. The two friends then sat up the whole night, smoking and drinking, to talk over all the developments that had taken place since they had last been together."[59]

New Battles on the Horizon

Despite his wide-ranging scientific work Marx never for a moment lost contact with practical political life. His many-sided publicist activity itself focused his attention on the economic development as well as the politics of the ruling classes and on still-restricted progress of the democratic and proletarian movement in the various European countries and in the United States.

At every opportunity that presented itself—in letters or talks, in newspaper articles or in lectures—he put forward the most important lesson of the revolutionary events of 1848—49 : that the proletariat in every land must set up an independent political class party. When the delegates of the English Chartists gathered in a " Workers' Parliament " in Manchester in 1854

to agree on united action, Marx sent them a message of greetings with the reminder : " The working class has conquered nature ; now it must conquer people. For the success of this undertaking it does not lack strength, what it lacks is the organization of its common strength. The organization of the working class on a national scale—that, I think, is the great and glorious goal sought by the Workers' Parliament."[60]

Marx sought as a matter of course to resume and strengthen his connections with the leaders of the English working class, especially the Chartists. He had especially close contact with the then revolutionary Chartist leader, Ernest Jones. In the paper directed by Jones, *The People's Paper*, Marx and Engels published many articles.

Marx's personal connections with the most politically mature representatives of the working class and the democratic movement in Germany, in other European countries and in North America also remained intact. The class-conscious workers of the Rhineland, among whom Marx was well known and respected from the days of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and the revolutionary years, 1848—49, often solicited his advice. When the opportunity arose in the mid-50's to deal with questions of international politics and the democratic and proletarian movement in a bourgeois-democratic newspaper in Germany, the *Neue Oder Zeitung* of Breslau, he did not hesitate. He continued to contribute to the paper even when the editors could no longer pay him for his work.

Marx and Engels held to their unshakable belief in the principle that the next task of the Communists in Germany remained the organization of a workers' party as quickly as possible. " We must recruit our party all over again,"[61] Marx had already written to Engels on March 10, 1853. But this party of the future could not be a new edition of the Communist League. It would have to reflect the new conditions of the class struggle, of the international and national needs of the growing industrial proletariat in Germany, England, France and other countries.

How very much Marx was in the right was confirmed by the end of the 1850's. As a product of the world economic crisis, the ever-increasing number of strikes and unemployed demonstrations in Berlin, Elberfeld and other localities presaged a new upswing of the German workers' movement. Now it became clear to everyone that the period of storms and revolutions, in the course of which bourgeois society had taken full shape, were not yet ended. The struggle of the Italian people for its unification and independence, which in 1859 led to war between Austro-Hungary and Bonapartist France, strengthened the national and democratic movement in all of Europe and especially in Germany. The unification of Germany became imperative on the basis of economic as well as political grounds.

But in what way should the unified German nation-state be created ?

Marx and Engels made a basic analysis of the international situation in Europe, comparing the economic and political strength of the various classes and strata in Germany, their relations to one another and their objective interests. Their investigation brought them to the conviction that only two roads were possible : Germany could be unified and transformed into a democratic nation-state through a revolutionary people's movement directed against the feudal dynasty and its supporters inside and outside the country ; or, through the domination of militaristic Prussia, it could find unity in a reactionary state that would be like an immense barracks. Revolution from below or reaction from above—that was the issue.

For the working class, the peasants, the petty-bourgeoisie and also the progressively minded sections of the bourgeoisie the best solution was a unified Germany won through a revolutionary people's movement against the aristocracy and the dynasties which would culminate in a democratic republic. Marx and Engels and their colleagues had already fought for such an indivisible democratic German republic since 1848. They did not alter their goal now because such a democratic republic would

facilitate a progressive advance of the German nation, and in such a republic the struggle of the working class and its preparations to win power would be made considerably easier.

But who was to be the leading force in this revolutionary movement? The petty-bourgeoisie was still very strong in numbers, but because of its position between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat showed itself increasingly less capable of pursuing an independent policy. That it would be able to lead such a people's movement, Marx considered highly improbable, especially after the experiences of the revolutionary years. The democratic and revolutionary unification of Germany was dependent above all on the independent action of the working class.

Marx and Engels and the small corps of Communists therefore concentrated all their efforts on making the German workers aware of their own class interests and their national mission, to free them from the influence of the bourgeoisie, and to prepare an independent proletarian party in Germany, step by step. For that reason the Communists had to seek ways of addressing themselves to the reawakening workers' movement. At the same time it was necessary to break through the conspiracy of silence and slander with which reaction, in all its variations, strove to isolate Marx and his comrades from the German working class.

In March 1859 Marx wrote to one of his fellow-fighters in Germany that the situation had changed and that he now held it essential that the party "come out in the open, wherever it can."[62] He himself once again devoted greater attention to the Communist Workers' Educational Association in London. In May he consulted with his old colleagues, Lessner, Liebknecht, Lochner, Pfänder and others, about the possibilities of setting up their own paper to propagate their ideas. He foresaw the time when it would be decisive for the Communists to be able to publish their views unhindered in a newspaper.

The opportunity to do this arose in the form of the London

Weekly, *Das Volk* (The People), sponsored by worker refugees, who now asked Marx for support. He agreed, and since he never did anything by halves, he was soon the directing editor and publisher of the paper in practice. *Das Volk* lasted only a short time, and had to cease publication in August because of financial difficulties ; Marx nevertheless succeeded in turning it into a communist organ that not only had readers in London, but also in the USA, in Switzerland and in Germany.

In articles for *Das Volk*, for the *New York Daily Tribune* and in various other papers, at the end of the 50's and the beginning of the 60's, Marx and Engels developed their views about the road to national unification of the German people and the measures that would be necessary along this road. Struggle against every foreign intervention in Germany as threatened by Bonapartist France ; abolition of the feudal regimes and the internal fragmentation ; liberation of the peoples subjugated by Prussia and Austria—that was the program of the proletarian revolutionaries.

No wonder that all the enemies of German unification united against this revolutionary national program—from the French emperor, Napoleon III, to the Prussian *Junkers*. In the fight against the communists even " arch-enemies " worked together. Napoleon III had Karl Vogt, the former German petty-bourgeois democrat, trumpet dirty slanders about Marx abroad, and Prussian *Junkers* and Liberals vied with one another in spreading these lies through their press from city to city and across the land. When Marx then endeavoured to take legal proceedings against the slanderers, who accused him of blackmail, of betraying revolutionaries and even of forging banknotes, his suits were not allowed.

There was nothing left him but to put out a pamphlet under the title *Herr Vogt* in which he refuted all of Vogt's anti-Communist slanders and at the same time answered the attempt to isolate the Communists once more from the popular movement that was gradually taking shape. On the basis of facts he showed

who among the German refugees in the emigration had really done something in the interests of progress, and who, in spite of the bitterest poverty and persecution, had consistently represented the national interests of the German people. As for Vogt, Marx accused him of working in the interests of Napoleon III and of supporting the French emperor's policy of opposition to the democratic unification of Germany with his publicist activity. Ten years later, after the overthrow of the second French imperium, receipts were found among Napoleon's papers showing that Vogt had received 40,000 francs in agent's fees from Bonaparte's secret fund.

The booklet about Herr Vogt had not yet appeared when a period of new misfortunes opened for the Marx family. Jenny, the best and most reliable of her husband's secretaries, had copied out the manuscript day and night, in feverish haste. But this time her constitution, after so much poverty and tension, so much insecurity and want, broke down under the extra strain. She was hardly finished writing the last sentence when the doctor had to be called. He found her with an exceptionally high fever and soon diagnosed smallpox. Only the inexhaustible care of her husband, who never left her side, regardless of the danger of infection, saved her life. She described these terrible weeks and months in 1860 in a letter :

" The Liebknechts, without fear, offered to take in the children, and by noon the girls were already off to their exile with their little belongings. My condition became worse from hour to hour as the pox broke out. I suffered greatly. Large areas of flaming pain on my face, complete sleeplessness, deathly fear for Karl, who nursed me with the utmost tenderness . . .

" But my constitution conquered ; the tenderest, most loyal care helped me ; and so I now sit here again, my health recovered, with only my face disfigured . . . Not till Christmas could the poor children return to their parental home where they were so sorely missed. Seeing one another again was indescribably moving . . .

" Hardly was I able to leave my bed for a while when my dear, beloved Karl fell ill. Unnatural anxiety, worry and torments brought him to the sickbed. For the first time his chronic liver ailment turned acute. But thank God, he recovered after four weeks of suffering. In the meantime, the *Tribune* put us on half pay again, and instead of some income from the book, a note had to be paid. Added to that, the enormous costs of this most terrible of all illnesses. In short, you can picture for yourself how things were with us over the winter."[13]

Even in the weeks of his illness, Marx followed the developments in Germany. He occupied himself especially with the thought that it was necessary as quickly as possible to set up a newspaper for the working class in Germany which would defend the interests of the proletariat in the battle for national unification and would aid the proletarian revolutionaries scattered all over the world politically and theoretically. The lawyer and writer, Ferdinand Lassalle, whom Marx had come to know more intimately since the revolutionary days, and Lassalle's friend, the Countess Hatzfeldt, had offered to support the founding of a newspaper in Berlin. In their correspondence, Marx and Engels weighed the pros and cons of this offer. In order to get a clear picture of the political situation in Germany and of Lassalle's intentions, Marx decided to make a trip to Berlin. Since he in any case had to travel to his Holland relatives in connection with financial matters, it seemed possible to carry out his plan. In addition, after the death of Friedrich Wilhelm IV, the new Prussian king, Wilhelm I, had promulgated a partial amnesty for the refugees of 1848s. Under these circumstances Marx believed he could risk the journey.

From the end of February till mid-March 1861 he stayed with his relatives at Zalt-Bommel. From March 18 till mid-April he was in Berlin, where he lived in the magnificently furnished Lassalle home at Bellevue street 13. His impression of the political situation in the Prussian capital was : " There is a general odour of disintegration, and people of every rank believe a catastrophe

is inevitable."[64] Such impressions must have strengthened Marx's desire to have a press organ as soon as possible, in order to be able to influence the democratic movement and the working class once more. But Lassalle put forward the condition that he should have the same right as Marx and Engels to determine the political profile of the projected newspaper. In his daily contact with Lassalle Marx recognized clearly how deeply the former was still sunk in philosophical idealism. He also saw a great danger to the joint project in Lassalle's arrogance and pettifogging. He therefore agreed with Engels that it was impossible to accept Lassalle's offer.

In Berlin Marx went to some of the theatre productions and sat in the pressbox during a sitting of the parliament. "The ubiquitous presence of the uniform" everywhere in the Prussian seat of the monarchy struck him as "disgusting."[65] Of all his former Berlin friends only Köppen was still close to him. "I found him the same as ever," he reported to Engels. "The two occasions on which we two alone went pub-crawling were a genuine treat for me."[66] Most of his former acquaintances, the Young Hegelians—once "radicals" who wanted to fight the enemy only intellectually and rejected every connection with the working class—had now become mere tools of reaction.

Marx was nauseated by the mode of life affected by Lassalle, who lived mostly on the money of Countess Hatzfeldt, was grossly extravagant, and took pleasure in the company of aristocratic and bourgeois admirers. All the warmer, therefore, was his reunion with old comrades-in-arms in Elberfeld and Cologne, where he stopped over on his return trip. In Trier he spent several days with his mother.

The journey to Berlin had not led to the founding of the desired political newspaper. But it had strengthened Marx's conviction that the communists must prepare themselves for the revolutionary crisis gradually maturing in Germany. The most progressive workers were banding together in workers' educational associations. At the beginning of the 60's there were

already several dozen such associations in existence in which the workers not only sought general education but also took stock of their social and political interests. These organizations were admittedly still under the political and ideological influence of the liberal bourgeoisie, but the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat was already too strong for the workers to remain much longer on the leash of the liberal politicians. Along with economic demands, the workers had already begun to raise political demands, especially in those areas where Communists had been active during the revolution of 1848—49, including the Rhineland, Hamburg, Leipzig and other localities. They demanded the unhindered right of organization, assembly and press freedom for all citizens. They demanded general, equal and direct voting rights. And for the guaranteeing of these rights, they demanded the arming of the people instead of the strengthening of militarism. Marx endeavoured in various ways to assist this spontaneously developing workers' movement.

During his stay in Berlin Marx had taken energetic action to have his Prussian citizenship returned to him so that he would be able, at any time it served the interests of the German working class, to return to his homeland. But the Prussian government, which had refused him citizenship in 1848, refused it now again. The Berlin police president justified the rejection bluntly with the assertion that Marx's views " were *republican, at the very least, not royalist,*"[67] and the supposedly liberal Prussian minister of the interior supported this stand.

Since Marx himself could not return to Germany freely, it was all the more important to know loyal comrades-in-arms in the homeland. Wilhelm Liebknecht was for a long time to be the most important of these comrades working in Germany. With Marx's agreement, he returned to Germany from the English emigration in the summer of 1862 and from then on worked there as the trusted representative of Marx and Engels. He began by spreading Marx's views among the Berlin workers and by gathering a group of class-conscious workers about him.

By the autumn of 1862 there was a growing desire among the most advanced German workers, especially in Berlin and Leipzig, to call an all-German workers' congress to work out the social and political goals of the proletariat. The spokesman of the Leipzig workers, the cigar-maker Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche, and the shoemaker Julius Vahlteich, called upon Lassalle at the end of 1862 to make public his views on a program for the working class. Lassalle responded to this request and encourgaged the Leipzig workers to organize themselves for the political struggle for their own interests. On the basis of his *Open Reply to the Central Committee for the Calling of an All-German Workers' Congress in Leipzig,* the General German Workers' Association was founded in Leipzig in May 1863 and Lassalle was elected its president.

For the first time, after more than a decade of darkest reaction, there again existed a workers' organization in Germany independent of the bourgeoisie. Not only the class-conscious workers, the intellectuals also found new hope and placed themselves on the side, or among the ranks, of the workers' movement. One of them, the poet Georg Herwegh, wrote the now famous song for the General German Workers' Association which closed with the verses :

Men of labour, now arisen—
Use your strength to break your prison !
You can stop the wheels at will
When you rule that they be still.

All the tyrants twitch with fear
When they see their end is near,
When your hand lays down the plough,
And you cry : the time is now !

Break the bond that yokes the free !
Break the dread of slavery !
Break the slavery of dread !
Bread is freedom, freedom bread ![68]

Lassalle knew the writings of Marx and Engels better than most others and described himself frequently as their pupil and supporter. But he had never actually comprehended the wealth of ideas of the Marxist teachings, especially their foundation, namely, philosophical materialism. In his conception of history and the state he remained an idealist. He did not believe that the working class had the historical mission of erecting a new, socialist society through the conquest of political power. Instead of the destruction of the bourgeois state, he considered its reform to be the task of the working class. He also wanted to reform the Prussian state through the introduction of equal rights to the secret ballot—that is to say, strictly along parliamentary lines—and through credits which the Prussian *Junker*-state, so he proposed, would give to the workers to build up production co-operatives. Lassalle's historical contribution to the creation once again of a workers' organization independent of the bourgeoisie, the General German Workers' Association, was positive ; but his illusion that the working class did not need to engage in a revolutionary struggle and would "peacefully grow" into socialism with the help of the exploiters' state had a destructive influence.

Out of these petty-bourgeois and non-proletarian ideas Lassalle developed a whole system of false conceptions which later became known historically as Lassalleanism. For example, he dismissed the economic struggle of the workers and thereby also the trade union movement. He disdained the allies of the proletariat, the peasants and the petty-bourgeoisie. He did not believe that the fight for emancipation of the working class had an international character. But the most harmful consequences for the German working class resulted from Lassalle's intrigues. On the one hand, he negotiated secretly with Bismarck, the newly named Prussian Prime Minister, from the standpoint that the unification of Germany should be based on Prussia. On the other hand, he sought to divert the German Workers' Association away from the revolutionary democratic road to national

unity to a pro-Prussian tactic. In this manner Lassalle prevented the rising workers' movement in the 1860's from becoming the decisive force in the struggle for the democratic unification of Germany. His theories, which he imposed on the Workers' Association, made Lassalleanism from then on the main obstacle to the penetration of scientific communism into the German workers' movement.

Lassalle made a point of utilizing the authority of the authors of the Communist Manifesto—as Marx had already recognized—but had disdained the views and experiences of the Manifesto and the Communist League in the founding of the Workers' Association. He had thus kept the Workers' Association from developing into a revolutionary proletarian party such as the Communist League had been.

Precisely those features of Lassalleanism which were anti-national—because nationalistic—and anti-revolutionary—because reformist—have since the turn of the century led bourgeois and rightwing Social Democratic historians to present Lassalle as the founder of the organized German workers' movement and to deny the fact that the history of the revolutionary German workers' party begins with the Communist League. As long ago as 1893, Friedrich Lessner effectively refuted these efforts when he wrote : " For those who worked with Marx and Engels from the beginning, it is exceedingly strange when the founding of the General German Workers' Association is described as the beginning of the contemporary workers' movement. After all, the founding of this Association came only in the early 1860's, at a time when Marx, Engels and others had already been working propagandistically and fighting intensively for twenty years."[69]

In the spring of 1863 Marx very much welcomed the political and organizational separation of the workers from the bourgeoisie. But he was equally scandalized by the fact that Lassalle considered it proper to intrigue with the bitterest enemy of the German working class and the whole nation, the Prussian mili-

tary state. "The Lassalle business and the scandals it is creating in Germany are getting to be unpleasant," Engels wrote to Marx in May 1863. "It is high time for you to finish your book."[70] Both were agreed that it was now especially necessary to influence the workers with new scientific and political works.

For Marx that meant, above all, the completion of his chief work, *Das Kapital*, on which he had again been working intensively since the middle of 1861, and with which he meant to continue the *Critique of Political Economy* published in 1859. At the same time he occupied himself ever more deeply with the workers' movement in other European countries.

From 1861 on he followed with great interest the civil war that flared up in the USA between the industrial and more developed northern states and the slave-holding states in the south. He supported the English workers who, in huge demonstrations, protested courageously against the intention of the English government to intervene militarily in the USA in favour of the southern states. With great satisfaction he publicly praised the high morality of the English proletariat. "Although the continuation of the American civil war would burden one million English workingmen with the most terrible sufferings and want"[71]—because of the cotton crisis and mass unemployment in the English textile industry caused by the civil war—nevertheless the English workers selflessly championed international solidarity and the preservation of peace.

Just as he supported the English workers' fight against the threat of a war of intervention, so Marx ranged himself most ardently behind the struggle of the Polish people who, since the beginning of 1863, had once more risen against the foreign czarist rule. He proposed that he and Engels should write a brochure on the brutal suppression of the Polish people by Prussia and Russia. He was to draft the section on diplomacy and Engels the military section. From February on he gathered material on the subject from the English, French and German press. He dug especially into works on the history of the diplo-

macy of Poland, Prussia, Russia and France in the 17th and 18th centuries. But a recurrence of his old liver ailment in May forced him to abandon his plan. The comprehensive preliminary work had to lie about unused, and when he had recovered, practical solidarity with the hard-pressed Polish freedom-fighters took up his time.

In August 1863, when a delegation of Polish patriots visited him, he immediately promised them moral and material help, and asked Engels to organize a collection of money in Manchester also. In London he arranged for the Communist Workers' Educational Association to head the solidarity action for the Polish patriots. " The Polish question is the German question. Without an independent Poland there will be no independent, united Germany,"[72] Marx wrote in a leaflet distributed by the Association. At his insistence, 50 copies of the leaflet were sent to Liebknecht in Berlin, so that the appeal could be distributed among the German workers also. Marx declared to the German workers : " In this fateful moment, the German working class owes the Poles, the world and its own honour loud protests against the German betrayal of Poland, which is at the same time a betrayal of Germany and Europe. It must write *the reconstitution of Poland* on its banner in letters of fire."[73] He spread the concept of proletarian internationalism among them and awakened in them the awareness that they were the trustees of Germany's national interests. The progressive English and French workers also placed themselves behind the Polish patriots.

This great movement of solidarity of the European working class promoted by Marx created the pre-conditions for the establishment of an international workers' organization. The workers' movements in various countries of Europe were once again strong enough so that, as Engels later wrote, " Marx could entertain the idea of realizing a long-cherished wish : the foundation of a Workers' Association embracing the most advanced countries of Europe and America, which would demonstrate

bodily, so to speak, the international character of the socialist movement both to the workers themselves and to the bourgeoisie and the governments—for the encouragement and strengthening of the proletariat, for striking fear into the hearts of its enemies."[74]

The appropriate moment arrived in 1864. The great English trade union federations had in 1863 invited representatives of the French workers' organizations to attend an international meeting in London on behalf of the Polish uprising. It had been agreed to repeat this international act of solidarity in 1864. The workers of other nations now also promised to take part, including the Communist Workers' Educational Association, whose members were mostly German proletarians. The English labour leaders requested specifically that Karl Marx, who enjoyed great prestige among them, should also attend this manifestation of international workingmen's fraternity.

On the evening of September 28, 1864, hundreds of English, French, German, Polish, Italian and Swiss workers and democratic emigrants assembled in St. Martin's Hall. The hall was filled to the rafters. Karl Marx, as the representative of the German workers, sat on the platform alongside the delegates of the French workingmen, the English trade union leaders, the representatives and revolutionary democrats of other nations.

The choir of the Communist Workers' Educational Association began the evening with a song. Then the chairman, Professor Beesly, a radical democrat and a good friend of Marx, declared the meeting opened. The audience reacted with enthusiastic approval to a message of solidarity from the English to the French workers, and to the reply from the French workers. The choir now sang another revolutionary song, then a representative of the French workers reported on how his class comrades foresaw an international organization of the proletariat. An English trade union leader summed up the views put forward during the evening by numerous speakers, who included the German communist, Eccarius. All the speakers recognized the

common interests of the workers of all lands in the struggle for democratic freedom, national independence and social progress. When, finally, the emissaries of the European proletariat decided, with great enthusiasm, to found an International Workingmen's Association to represent their common interests, Karl Marx was elected to the leading committee. The meeting closed with hurrahs to the French workers and the workers of all lands.

Thus the man who had prepared the way for this joining of forces, Karl Marx, was now also a personal witness and participant in the founding conference of the International Workingmen's Association.

Chapter V

1864–1871

A New Foundation Stone Is Laid

At the great workingmen's assembly in St. Martin's Hall on September 28, 1864 it was not Karl Marx but his comrade Eccarius who spoke on behalf of the German workers. Marx himself had proposed Eccarius to the preparatory committee and had helped him draft his address. The newspaper reports about the election of the leading committee, which later became the General Council, carried Marx's name at the end of the list. Soon, however, Marx's name was the first in the elected committee, " the soul of this as of all subsequent General Councils "[1] of the International, as Engels described him.

From Marx's pen came practically all the programmatic documents approved by the General Council, and all the decisions of the Congresses of the Association that had any permanence

were also filled with Marx's spirit. " To describe Marx's activity in the International," Engels wrote a decade later, " would necessitate writing the history of the Association itself."[2]

Marx highly valued the confidence that the representatives of the international working class had shown in him by his election. He brought the same devotion to his new task as to all others entrusted him by the working class. For many years he had dedicated all his energies to his scientific work, especially to his study of political economy, and stayed clear of the playing about with organizations of the primarily petty-bourgeois German emigrants. But what was involved now was not the game of utopian conspiracies engaged in by ambitious individuals ; it was rather, as Marx wrote to Engels, a question " of real ' powers ' both on the London and Paris sides," a question of the " revival of the working classes."[3]

With what depth of feeling Marx had looked forward to precisely this moment ! During the period after 1849, when European reaction stamped out the flames of revolution, and when " the spectre of Communism "[4] seemed to have been wiped out after the Cologne Communist trials, Marx had never for a moment doubted that the proletariat would again awaken to political action. Now the awakening had come. The founding of the International strengthened Marx's confidence and confirmed his view of the historical mission of the working class. It was at the same time a product of his tireless labours. The founding of the International was for Jenny also a great fulfilment. Engels later described the feelings of Marx's loyal wife and comrade in these words : " The International had been launched. The class struggle of the proletariat pressed forward, from land to land, and at the head of the front ranks marched her husband. There now began for her a period that compensated for some of the great hardships she had endured. She lived to see that the slanders heaped upon Marx were blown away like chaff before the wind ; and how his teachings, for the suppression of which all reactionary parties . . . put forth enormous efforts, were

finally preached from the rooftops in every civilized land and in every modern tongue."[5]

At the beginning, however, in the first years of the International, the Marxist viewpoint was not yet "preached from the rooftops." It had to establish itself first in hard battles inside as well as outside the International. Differences of opinion already arose in the working out of the program and the general rules.

The leading committee elected in St. Martin's Hall met for the first time on October 5. It authorized a nine-man commission, a so-called sub-committee, to draft a program and Provisional Rules. Marx was elected to this commission. The background of his election was described to him by his friend Eccarius, who reported that in a private consultation the influential English trade union leaders Cremer and Odger had advanced the view that "the right man in the right place will undoubtedly be Dr. Marx."[6]

Illness prevented Marx from taking part in the next meetings. When the draft documents then came up for discussion on October 18, he found himself forced to speak out against them, because they on the one hand described the tasks of the working class too hazily, and on the other hand they would have turned the new organization into a conspiratorial society, which had long been rendered obsolete by history. Another meeting was arranged for October 20, this time at Marx's home. The Englishman Cremer, the French spokesman, Le Lubez, and the Italian representative, Fontana, debated till after midnight, but with minimum results. The delegates entrusted the various documents to Marx, which he clearly saw to be wholly inadequate, and which could not be simply improved, but had to be entirely rewritten.

For the next eight days Marx devoted himself entirely to this task and worked out the *Provisional Rules* and the *Inaugural Address*, the two founding documents of the International Workingmen's Association. The great problem was to set out the

principles of scientific communism in a form that was suitable for the stage the workers' movement was then in, that was acceptable to all the extraordinarily varied tendencies in it, and that nevertheless unmistakably announced the revolutionary goal of the proletariat.

What was the situation in the international workingmen's movement in 1864 ?

The largest workers' organizations existed in England. But the English trade union leaders, who represented tens of thousands of unionized workers, did not consider the overthrow of capitalism to be the aim of their fight. They contented themselves with the improvement of the social position of the workers within capitalism and the broadening of their rights.

The majority of the French workingmen's organizations were under the influence of Proudhonism, and the rest were followers of Blanqui. Proudhon denied the necessity of a struggle for the political rule of the working class and also rejected the economic struggles of the trade unions. He believed that the proletariat could emancipate itself from exploitation by all the workers becoming small commodity-producers. The Blanquists, on the contrary, concentrated all their attention on the political revolution with which they wanted to overthrow capitalism. But they believed they could " make " this revolution at any selected moment with a handful of fearless fighters. Their putschist aims diverted them from the economic struggle. More than that, they made it more difficult to win the masses of the proletariat for socialist ideas. Marx had already refuted the confusions of Proudhon and Blanqui two decades earlier, but their views were tenacious, kept recurring in the working class, and were nourished by the ideology of the petty-bourgeoisie, which was strong in numbers.

Different again was the situation in Italy. Here the industrial revolution was still in its infancy, so that the proletariat was weak in numbers and closely connected with the petty-bourgeoisie. The Italian workers at first joined together in mutual

benefit and educational associations. These organizations were still very much influenced by Giuseppi Mazzini, the bourgeois-democratic revolutionary who sought to win the workingmen for the general democratic movement to complete the national unification of Italy, but who repudiated the class struggle of the proletariat.

In Germany, of course, the General German Workers' Association was an independent political workers' organization, but its program, imbued with Lassalleanism, prevented it from consistently defending the class interests of the German workers and to develop further into a genuine proletarian party. The other workers' organizations, which had joined together in 1863 in the federation of German Workers' Associations, still remained completely under the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie.

The various sections of the international workers' movement, therefore, were not a unit either in the ideological or the organizational sense. Their theoretical level was very uneven. Many workers who were ready to take up the struggle not only lacked a knowledge of scientific communism ; they were not infrequently still bourgeois in outlook. Nevertheless, Marx spared no effort to bring about the unity of the working class through a joint program. Two decades of class struggle had taught him that the proletariat needs unity if it is to gather round it all the others who work for a living and to fulfil its historical mission. In elaborating the Provisional Rules and the Inaugural Address he therefore threw out everything that was narrow and sectarian as well as everything that dodged the unavoidable confrontation with opportunistic views. His guiding line was the necessity of hammering out the unity of the proletariat in joint actions and discussions. He therefore based himself on the community of interests of the various proletarian organizations and tendencies, in short, on what united the workingmen of all lands. That was, above all, the knowledge that the workers of a single land were powerless without the solidarity of the workers of other lands, that the working class needs an independent proletarian organi-

zation for success in its struggle, and that the emancipation of the workers can only be the work of the working class itself.

Therefore Marx opened the *Inaugural Address* with these words :

"*Workers !*

"It is a fact that the misery of the working masses has not receded during the period of 1848—64, and yet this period is unprecedented in the annals of history for its progress in industry and commerce."[7]

On the basis of official documents of the English government Marx clearly showed "that no development of machines, no chemical discovery, no application of science to production . . . has been able to set aside the misery of the working masses ; on the contrary, on the basis of the present false foundation, every new development of the productive forces must have the effect of deepening the social contrasts and sharpening the social antagonisms."[8] Here Marx laid to rest the deliberate lie already then spread by the bourgeoisie that technical progress will overcome class antagonisms and abolish exploitation. In this manner he opened the eyes of the workers to the awareness that the interests of the bourgeoisie and the interests of the proletariat are irreconcilable.

Marx then praised the successes that the workers' movement had won in the previous years. The first of these was the introduction of the 10-hour working day that the English workers had attained through decades of struggle. Bourgeois economists had loudly declared "that every legal reduction of the working day in England would sound the death knell of English industry."[9] Thus the introduction of the 10-hour working day in England and a number of other European countries was, Marx wrote, "not only a great practical achievement, it was the victory of a principle. For the first time the political economy of the middle class was defeated in broad daylight by the political economy of the working class."[10]

As the second great victory of the proletariat over the bour-

geoisie Marx praised the successes of the co-operative movement, the founding of workers' production co-ops. This movement had been started by the English utopian, Robert Owen. It had demonstrated in practice that the workers can produce in large factories without capitalists and with the utilization of advanced technical processes. It had also demonstrated that wage-labour, that is to say, the exploitation of the workers, was only a temporary social manifestation, " destined to be superseded by *the labour of association*, in which the work is performed with willing hands, a vigorous spirit and a joyful heart."[11] With these words Marx strengthened the self-reliance of the working class and its awareness of its own power. He helped it to understand that it is not only destined to create a society in which labour is changed from drudgery to the highest necessity of life, but is also capable of doing so.

Marx also showed, however, that individual co-operatives could not overcome capitalist monopolies or appreciably lighten the poverty of the masses. To free the working masses, the co-operative formula would have to be developed in a national framework and furthered by national facilities. But since the owners of the land and the capitalists would at all times use their political power to defend and perpetuate their economic domination, their political privileges would first have to be abolished. Marx summed up this concept with the categorical demand : " To conquer political power is now the great duty of the working class."[12]

Marx assessed the reawakening of the proletarian movement at the beginning of the 1860's, and the numerous attempts of the workers to organize and unite, as a first step on the road to the conquest of power by the working class. An important factor for the success of the working class was its numerical strength. " But numbers weigh in the scales only when combined in unity and led by knowledge."[13] By unity Marx here meant not only association in an organization on a national scale, but also the close fraternity between the workers of all lands. By

the necessary "knowledge" he meant insight into the laws of social development, the mastering of the scientific teachings of the working class' emancipation struggle. The political organization that he here proposed, which had to be guided by scientific communism, was the party of the working class.

Finally, Marx also outlined in the *Inaugural Address* a proletarian foreign policy. Since the liberation of the working class in the various countries demanded mutual and fraternal assistance, this goal could never be achieved "with a foreign policy that pursues aggressive aims, that plays with national prejudices, and wastes the blood and treasure of the people in piratical wars."[14] The proletariat therefore had to get behind the secrets of international politics, to organize resistance to the intrigues of the various governments, and to fight for its own foreign policy. But this foreign policy had to make "the simple laws of morality and justice which should regulate relations between private persons the supreme law of relations between nations."[15]

Here Marx showed the road to the final abolition of war among the peoples. In the *Communist Manifesto* he and Engels had already expressed the view that the struggle for peace is intimately bound up with the fight for political power in the individual countries in these words: "In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."[16] In the *Inaugural Address* Marx singled out the heroic anti-war actions of the English workers to emphasize that the proletariat can successfully fight the robber wars of the ruling classes even within capitalist society and is duty-bound to do so. "The fight for such a foreign policy is inherent in the general fight for the *emancipation of the working class*."[17]

Marx worked out the *Provisional Rules* between October 21 and 27. In these he elaborated the principles and the organizational structure of the International Workingmen's Association. He prefaced them with the programmatic declaration—

"That the emancipation of the working class must be won

through the working class itself ; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working class is not a struggle for class privileges and monopoly, but for equal rights and duties and for the destruction of all class rule ;

" That the economic subjugation of the workers by the usurpers of the means of production, that is to say, of the sources of life, is the foundation of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, all intellectual decay and political dependence ;

" That the economic emancipation of the working class is thus the great ultimate goal, to which every political movement should be subordinated."[18]

The *Provisional Rules* explained and emphasized the international character of the Association and the common aims of the proletariat in the various countries. They named the annual congress as the highest authority of the Association. This was to be attended by representatives of all affiliated workers' organizations. Between congresses the Association was to be led by the Central Council, renamed the General Council in 1866. It was to be made up of representatives from the different countries and was to coordinate the activity of the individual organizations. The General Council, with its headquarters in London, was to be elected by the annual congress and to report on its work to it.

The *Provisional Rules* bound the members to work with all their energy " for the uniting of the scattered workers' societies in their respective countries into one national body, represented by national central organs,"[19] that is to say, through political parties. As long as that was not achieved, every organization and every local section had the right to deal directly with the General Council in London. That was especially important for countries like Germany, where reactionary laws ruled out official affiliation of national workers' organizations with the International.

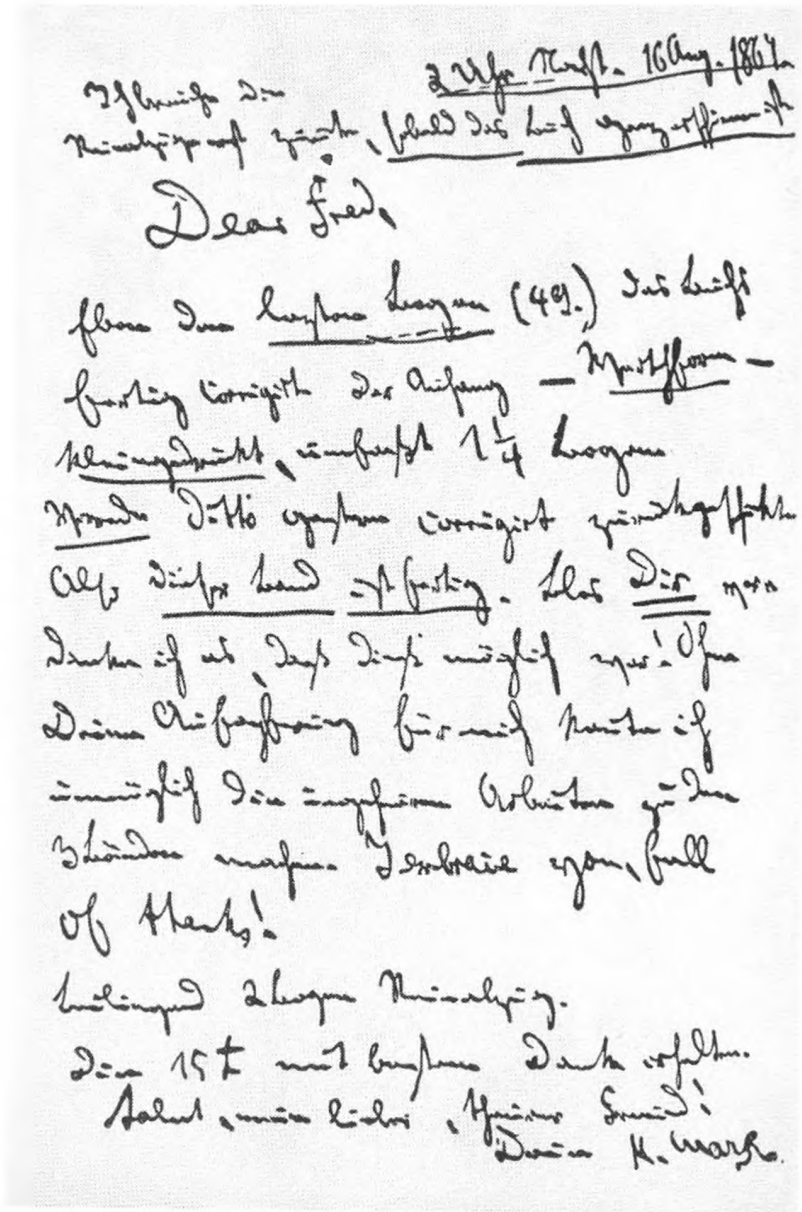
All the leading organs of the International were elective, and

were required to report to the members on their activities. The Rules guaranteed free discussion of all theoretical and political questions. They stipulated that all organizations and sections belonging to the International should act together and in concord, in short, in a disciplined manner. This was in keeping with the organizational principles of a democratic and centrally led workers' organization already tested by the Communist League. They were to be taken up by all the revolutionary parties of the working class in later times.

The *Inaugural Address* ended with the battle-cry : " Workers of the world, unite ! "[20] That symbolized the continuity of the tradition of the Communist League and was evidence of the great progress of the international workers' movement. Marx could not yet, as he wrote to Engels, give the *Address* and the *Provisional Rules* " the old boldness of speech "[21] that was characteristic of the *Communist Manifesto.* With an eye on the as yet immature conceptions of the contemporary workers' organizations, he chose a form that made it possible for him to proclaim the economic emancipation of the proletariat and—as a pre-condition—the establishment of its political power as the great goal of the workers' movement. In their content, however, the Address and the Rules corresponded completely with the *Communist Manifesto* on all the main questions.

On November 1, 1864, the Provisional Committee established itself as the Central Council of the International Workingmen's Association. The Council unanimously adopted the *Provisional Rules* and accepted Marx's draft of the Address as its program. That was a great victory for scientific communism, since it created a solid programmatic and organizational foundation on the basis of which the differences with all the non-Marxist tendencies inside the International could be argued out.

At the same meeting, Marx proposed that Friedrich Lessner and Karl Pfänder be elected members of the Central Council. Eight days later he also proposed the election of Georg Lochner and Karl Kaub. The proposals were approved. The four



2 Uhr Nachts. 16 Aug. 1867.

Ich brauche die Reinabzüge erst zurück, sobald das Buch ganz erschienen ist.

Dear Fred,

Eben den letzten Bogen (49.) des Buchs fertig corrigirt. Der Anfang — Werthform — kleingedruckt, umfaßt 1¼ Bogen. Werde ditto gestern corrigirt zurückgeschickt. Also dieser Band ist fertig. Blos Dir war danke ich es, daß dieß möglich war! Ohne Deine Aufopferung für mich konnte ich unmöglich die ungeheuren Arbeiten zu den 3 Bänden machen. Ich brauche von, fall of thanks!

Beiliegend 2 Bogen Reinabzug.

Die 15 £ mit bestem Dank erhalten.

Salut, mein lieber, theurer Freund!

Dein K. Marx.

Marx's letter to Friedrich Engels dated August 16, 1867

Das Kapital.

Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

Von

Karl Marx.

Erster Band.

Buch I: Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals.

Das Recht der Uebersetzung wird vorbehalten.

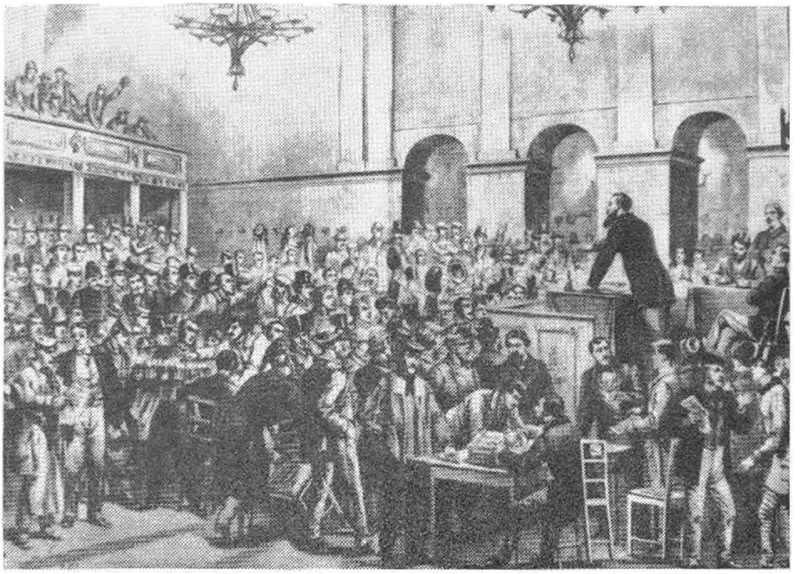
Hamburg
Verlag von Otto Meissner.
1867.

New-York: L. W. Schmidt, 24 Barclay-Street.

The title page of the first edition

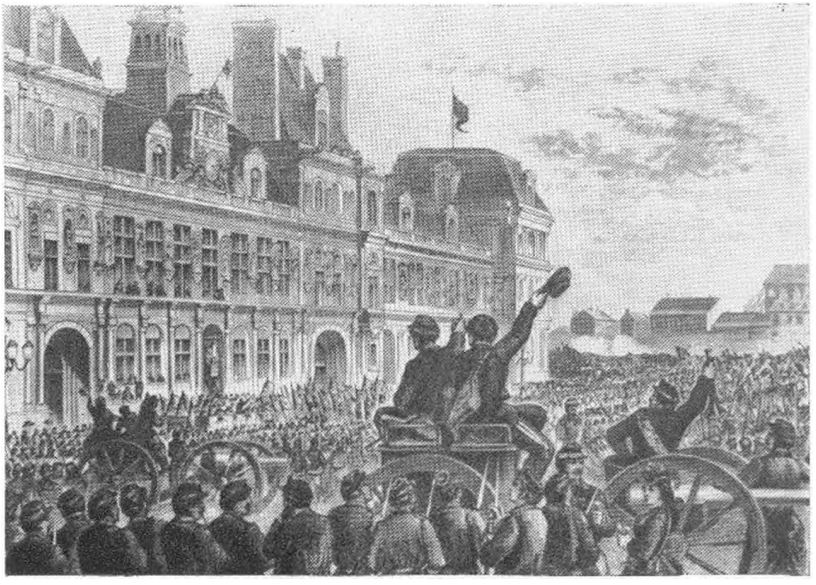
Karl Marx and his daughter Jenny late in 1868. Jenny's crucifix is reminiscent of the Polish uprising of 1863–64

Laura Marx

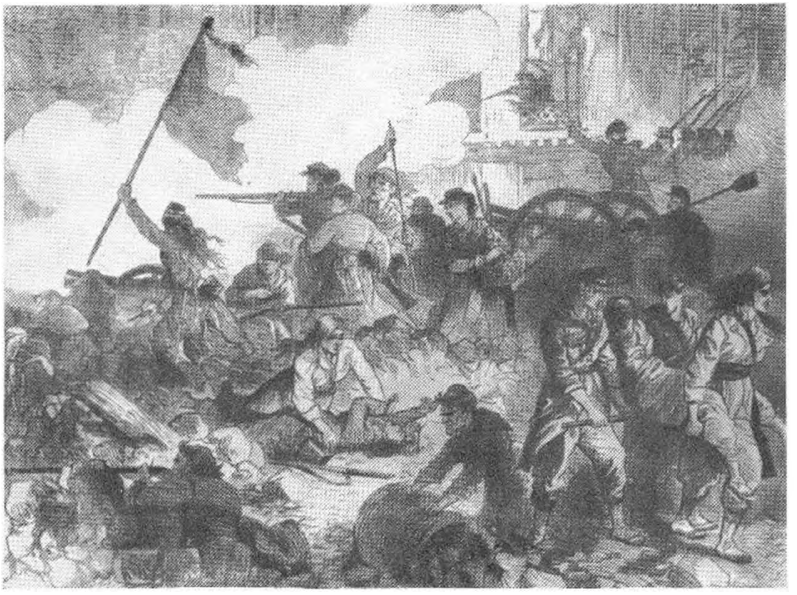


A meeting of a German workers' educational association in 1868

Professor Albert Norden, member of the Political Bureau of the Socialist Unity Party (SED), inaugurating the "1869 Eisenach Party Congress" memorial place on March 25, 1967. In the former restaurant *Zum Goldenen Löwen* the delegates of the founding congress of the Social Democratic Workers' Party met on August 7, 1869



Proclamation of the Paris Commune on March 28, 1871



Barricade at the Place Blanche in Paris, which women defended against the counter-revolutionary troops in May 1871

workers, who were experienced German communists, had learned to value Marx as their teacher. Together with Eccarius and the Swiss emigrant Hermann Jung they were an important prop for Marx in the Central Council. Now there was at least a small group in the Council of theoretically developed communists alongside the greater number of defenders of petty-bourgeois ideas.

The chairman of the Central Council was the leader of the English trade unions, the shoemaker George Odger. The general-secretary was William Randell Cremer, one of the founders of the English carpenters' and cabinet-makers' trade union. Both more or less openly represented the standpoint of petty-bourgeois reformism. Le Lubez, who worked as corresponding secretary for France, was a bourgeois republican emigrant from whom the International soon had to separate itself. Giuseppe Fontana supported the political ideas of Mazzini. Other members of the Council were English trade unionists, French, Italian, Polish and English petty-bourgeois democrats, and a Danish worker. The elementary need for international solidarity and collaboration and Marx's great tactical brilliance brought them all together in united action.

In his work on the Central Council Marx provided an example of how the strategy and tactics of the working class must always take into account the current conditions in which the class struggle is developing. In contrast to the English trade union leaders on the Council, who had tens of thousands of members behind them, and to the representatives of the French organizations, Marx for a long time represented only a small company of German workers. But he had on his side a knowledge of the interests and goals of the working class and a perspective as to the road that had to be followed. Lessner, who then met with Marx almost every week, wrote : " Marx, like all truly great men, was completely free of arrogance and prized every honest effort and every opinion based on independent thinking."[22] Marx discussed the ideas of the other members of the Council

with unswerving patience. When they were in error, he helped them recognize their own false ideas and conclusions, and so made them allies of his views. In this manner, he succeeded, with admirable flexibility, in winning a majority on all important matters for a policy based on the principles of scientific communism.

In this period Marx's home became the second headquarters of the International. Often, when the official weekly consultations of the General Council or one of its committees was ended in its office at 18 Greek St., Soho, the discussion continued on at Marx's home. On occasions the talk was shifted to a pub, where it went on informally over a glass of beer. Marx still continued his practice of meeting with workers as often as possible, to consult with them and to learn of their aspirations in the workers' movement. He was always enthused when he met workers who showed an understanding of important political and economic questions, who spoke frankly to him and without flattery. On such occasions the talk usually continued long into the night, so that Marx sometimes told his friends jokingly: "We are pressing for the eight-hour working day, but we ourselves often work twice that long within the span of 24 hours."[23]

For the Marx family, after long years of deprivation, the material side of life became somewhat better for the time being at the beginning of 1864. The reason, however, was tragic.

On November 30, 1863, Marx had lost his mother. He journeyed to Trier at once for the last rites for her. In Trier, as in Frankfurt am Main and in Holland, he visited with his relatives, returning to London in February 1864. Shortly thereafter he received his portion of the inheritance from Trier. Now the various debts could be paid off and the family, with the growing daughters, moved to a better house in the northwest of London, Haverstock Hill, Maitland Park, 1 Modena Villas.

In the new surroundings the health of the children improved visibly. The house had a lovely garden. In nearby Maitland Park Marx found relaxation in his leisure hours. And now he

and Jenny could again assist friends who were in need with money, like Liebknecht in Germany.

At the beginning of May 1864 Marx received disturbing news from Manchester : Wilhelm Wolff was seriously ill. He hurried to Manchester at once, hoping to see " the fine comrade "[24] before it was too late. It was none too soon : Wolff died on May 9. Marx delivered the address at the grave. Wolff, who had belonged to the most intimate friends of the Marx family, remembered Karl even in his death, leaving to the latter, as assistance for his work, £ 800, all of the savings of a lifetime.

But the large household soon swallowed up all the inherited money. Marx still had no firm, regular source of income. The *New York Daily Tribune* had discontinued Marx's articles in the spring of 1862, because domestic developments in America monopolized the columns of the paper. Other journalistic assignments were irregular. Marx's work for the International Workingmen's Association, which from the autumn of 1864 on swallowed up much of his time and energy, was of course purely voluntary. Thus by May 1865 poverty returned once more to the Marx household. Everything of any value gradually found its way to the pawnshop, but still the importunate creditors could not be satisfied. " I wanted at first to come to you to talk about the matter," Marx wrote to Engels at the end of July 1865. " I assure you I would rather have chopped off my thumbs than write this letter to you. It is truly crushing to remain in dependence half a lifetime. The only thought that keeps me going is that we two operate a company in which I give my time to the theoretical and party side of the business."[25] The description of his household difficulties, however, was followed immediately by detailed information about the progress of his work on *Capital* and the developments in the International Workingmen's Association. His scientific work and the political struggle allowed him in the end to overcome the most depressing domestic worries.

Secretary for Germany

After the founding and leading of the Communist League, the years from 1864 to 1872 represented the second peak in Marx's practical political activity. At the head of the International Workingmen's Association he showed himself to be a genuine workers' leader and an outstanding political statesman. No matter how dear his scientific work always remained for him, he was above all a revolutionary. To participate in the emancipation of the working class—that was the content of his life. Never in all his activities had he united scientific research and public revolutionary activity with such authority and with such enduring success as in the years of the International Workingmen's Association.

Formally, it is true, Marx was never actually the official

leader of the International. English trade union leaders were usually president and general-secretary of the General Council. Eccarius was also general-secretary for a number of years. At the suggestion of the German workers living in London, Marx took on the function of Corresponding Secretary for Germany. The secretaries for the individual countries, together with the president and general-secretary, constituted a standing committee of the General Council, a sort of leading body that prepared the meetings and decisions of the Council. Marx soon won high respect and great confidence among the members of this committee through his useful, well thought out proposals. He became indispensable to the committee, and through it was soon leading the General Council in practice. In the fulfilment of his duties he was a model to the other members of the Council. If he was not visiting with Engels in Manchester, or laid up with illness, he took part regularly in most of the meetings of the Council, usually held on Tuesdays, and prepared himself for them thoroughly in advance. He never turned aside an assignment as secretary of the International because of lack of time. As a secretary, he had to carry on a correspondence that grew from year to year, and to maintain personal contacts with many English workers' leaders and other personalities residing in London. All of this cost him a great deal of energy.

Marx was an internationalist through and through. But no matter how proud he was of the international position he and Engels had won for themselves, no matter how deep the internationalism with which he felt and acted, he was at the same time an ardent German patriot. Of the countless slanders invented about him, the most absurd and the most contemptible is the lie that the acknowledged leader of the International lacked patriotic feeling.

Marx was proud of the great revolutionary and cultural contributions of his people. It was out of love for the German people that he relentlessly pilloried the betrayal and failures of the ruling classes in German history. But at the same time he

tirelessly pointed out to the German workers that the popular masses in Germany had also demonstrated their ability to accomplish deeds on the level of the revolutionary contributions of other peoples. Marx's love for his fatherland and the German people was not diminished but made all the greater by the exile forced on him by Prussian reaction. Love for the people and hatred for its oppressors, together with unshakable international solidarity, were for Marx—as for all genuine Marxists since then—an indivisible part of proletarian patriotism.

Marx placed great faith in the German working class, in its theoretical sense and its organizational ability. This faith had led him at first to remain silent with regard to Lassalle's agitation among the workers. Marx was convinced that the workers would learn through their own experiences in the class struggle that Lassalle's one-sided attitude towards the liberal bourgeoisie was false and could only serve the Prussian *Junkers*. Marx knew that the German proletariat could fulfil its national mission only in the battle against Bismarck, the proponent of the unification of Germany along reactionary lines. He firmly believed that the members of the General German Workers' Association would recognize that the working class could never succeed through intrigues with a government hostile to the people.

In the autumn of 1864 Lassalle was killed in a duel. But the German Workers' Association now came under the influence of people who set forth Lassalle's opportunist policies even more drastically. Now Marx could no longer remain silent. He undertook to transform the German Workers' Association into a revolutionary party.

After Lassalle's death, Liebknecht, who worked among the Berlin workers, and Carl Klings, a former member of the Communist League who was now leader of the Solingen branch of the German Workers' Association, turned to Marx for help. Acting independently of one another, they urged Marx to come to Germany and take over the presidency of the General German Workers' Association. Marx was not able to meet this

request because of his work in the International and the permanent threat of expulsion as a " foreigner " that hung over his head in Prussia. But he took up with satisfaction the now closer ties with the workers in the Rhineland.

In December 1864 one of Lassalle's disciples, Johann Baptist von Schweitzer, founded the newspaper *Der Social-Demokrat* as the organ of the Workers' Association in Berlin. Liebknecht was taken on to the editorial board, and Marx and Engels promised their collaboration. They saw an opportunity in the paper to popularize the ideological, political and organizational principles of a revolutionary proletarian party in Germany and to work for the affiliation of the Workers' Association to the International. *Der Social-Democrat* published the Inaugural Address and the Provisional Rules of the International. In numerous articles, Marx and Engels warned the German workers against every type of compromise with the Bismarck government.

At about the same time, in February 1865, Marx elaborated a whole program for the revolutionary German workers in concise form in a letter to Schweitzer. He especially warned the German workers' movement against the catastrophic illusion " that the golden apple would fall into their mouths by grace of the king in the Bismarck era or through any other Prussian era." He continued : " It is inevitable that disillusionment with Lassalle's unfortunate fantasy that a Prussian government would bring socialism will materialize. The logic of the situation will speak for itself. But the *honour* of the workers' party demands that it repudiate such deceptive ideas even before their hollowness is exposed in practice." He ended this withering criticism of Lassalleanism with the reminder : " The working class is revolutionary or it is nothing."[26]

A few days later Schweitzer was exposed as a hireling of Bismarck, and Marx and Engels immediately dissociated themselves from *Der Social-Demokrat.*

In January 1865 Marx got Engels to prepare an article dealing with the attitude of the German workers to Bismarck. But

the article developed into a brochure. When Marx received the manuscript on February 9 or 10, he read it immediately, proposed a few changes and additions, and urged immediate publication. Four weeks later it appeared in Hamburg under the title, *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party.*

In this brochure Engels outlined the tactic the German proletariat would have to follow to unify Germany in a revolutionary-democratic manner. This tactic, in the opinion of Marx and Engels, could only be that of supporting and driving forwards the bourgeoisie in the struggle against feudal reaction. Why ? In Germany, at that time, the main contradiction was not yet that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but between all sections of the people interested in social progress on the one side—the proletariat, the peasants, the democratic petty-bourgeoisie, and also the bourgeoisie—and feudal reaction, on the other side, which was fighting stubbornly to save the social order that was going under.

The Prussian military state was the main enemy of a democratic solution to the national question. The working class could never enter into compromise with it. Engels therefore called upon the working class to ally itself with the peasants, the democratic petty-bourgeoisie and also with sections of the bourgeoisie in order to drive out the German monarchy together, to create a democratic republic, to let the creative energies of the German people develop freely, to make Germany the centre of a democratic reformation in Europe and to develop genuinely friendly relations between the peoples. Only such a development would express the interests of the vast majority of the nation.

Engels' dictum that the fate of the German nation depended on the struggle for democracy ran like a red thread through his brochure. He declared openly that even if the bourgeoisie, as in 1848—49, out of fear of the workers, deserted to the protective wings of the aristocracy, the workers' movement would have no

alternative but to set forth the struggle betrayed by the bourgeoisie—in spite of and against the bourgeoisie—for freedom of the press, assembly and coalition, as well as for other democratic rights. Engels emphasized : "Without these freedoms it cannot function freely. In this struggle it is fighting for its own means of life, for the air that it has to breathe."[27]

Engels' warning—and every word of his had been approved by Marx—that the proletariat must consistently fight for democracy in the interests of the struggle for socialism, was of basic, permanent significance. It had special significance, however, for the workers organized in the General German Workers' Association because the struggle for bourgeois-democratic freedoms in Germany of necessity had to be directed in the first place against the militaristic *Junkers* and the feudal bureaucracy. Recognition of that fact would force the Workers' Association to ally itself more closely to the mass movement of the working class, to seek an alliance with the peasants and other anti-feudal forces, and to cast off the characteristics of a conspiratorial sect based on the Lassallean dogmas.

In any case, Engels wrote further, if the working class now drove the bourgeoisie forward, or was itself in the position of leading the way in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, it could never operate "merely as the tail of the bourgeoisie," but "as a party completely different and independent of it."[28] In this connection Engels described the workers' party as the conscious section of the class, as its vanguard that seeks to realize the aims of the class.

Engels also dealt with the question of the general right to vote, which Lassalle had hailed as the answer to everything. Marx and Engels warned against every overestimation of the general right to vote, which could through clever manipulations also be misused by the ruling classes for reactionary purposes. For the working class, Engels declared in his brochure, the general right to vote could only become an effective weapon when its representatives in parliament pursued an independent course

in opposition to the exploiting classes, allied themselves with all the democratic forces of the people, and based themselves on these forces.

With these ideas, which were now spreading among the most advanced German workers, Marx and Engels had applied the general program of the International Workingmen's Association to the specific situation in Germany. The significance of Engels' brochure lay in the fact that it stimulated the debate inside the General German Workers' Association about the direction and aims of the working class, so that numerous groups came to oppose Schweitzer's policy of intrigue with the ruling classes.

In the following years Marx continued to support all efforts in the Workers' Association in Germany to implement a revolutionary policy directed against the Prussian military state. As Secretary of the General Council for Germany he concentrated at first, however, on winning individual members of the Association for the International and to set up local groups.

In this he received support from Johann Philipp Becker, who from Geneva worked with success among the workers of Germany for the International. Becker had already fought against reaction in the 30's as a sturdy revolutionary democrat. As a result of his experiences in the revolution of 1848—49 he had gone over to the position of the working class. In 1864 he had warmly greeted the founding of the International and in 1866 he began publication of its only German-language organ, *Der Vorbote.*

Marx also had trustworthy friends inside Germany itself: Liebknecht, who was active in Leipzig after having been expelled from Berlin in 1865; the worker, Carl Wilhelm Klein, in Solingen; the mechanic, Paul Stumpf, in Mainz; the shoemaker, August Vogt, in Berlin, and the doctor, Ludwig Kugelmann, in Hanover. They had all been members of the Communist League or strong supporters of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* Now they set up the first sections of the International in Germany, propagated Marx's ideas and circulated his writings.

They found many new comrades-in-arms, the foremost of whom was the young August Bebel. He was the most able of the workers who were functionaries in the Federation of German Workers' Associations and he became its president in 1867. In 1865 he had read the *Inaugural Address* of the International " with satisfaction,"[29] and in 1866 became a member of the International through Liebknecht's efforts.

From 1865 on Marx received ever more numerous reports from various German cities that individual workers were joining the International and setting up local sections. These reports came from Solingen, Berlin, Leipzig, Mainz and many other localities.

Marx's most important contact man in Germany at that time was Liebknecht, with whom he exchanged letters regularly. Since the police frequently opened the letters, Marx wrote under the name of A. Williams and Liebknecht signed himself J. Miller. Marx kept Liebknecht informed about the latest developments in the International, made tactical suggestions, passed on political tasks, and entrusted Liebknecht with publication of documents of the General Council.

Thanks to the help of Liebknecht, Johann Philipp Becker and the pioneers of the International working in the local sections, the most advanced German workers, at first only some hundreds, became better acquainted with the aims of the International. When some 650 book-printing workers, mostly type-setters, struck for higher wages in Leipzig in 1865, the executive of the Berlin book-printers' association confidently wrote for help to " Herr Karl Marx, Secretary for Germany, International Workingmen's Association, London."[30] The executive reported on its solidarity aid for the Leipzig colleagues. They had " already sent 1,000 thaler out of their meagre funds and greatly desired to do more, but they could not provide help *alone* ! Others must contribute their mite, preferably larger cities and other workers' societies, especially those who have achieved class-conciousness." The executive continued :

" The undersigned executive therefore turns to you, respected Herr Marx, to ask that the International Workingmen's Association, and especially the English and London compositors, concern themselves with their fighting Leipzig brothers, do something for them, gather money for them. But soon, for swift help is real help !"[31]

Immediately on receipt of the letter Marx sent the Leipzig compositors 30 thaler contributed by the members of the International. Then he wrote to Paris, reported to the General Council on the strike, and went on a delegation to the trade union of the London compositors to appeal for their solidarity. His initiative led to the development of a great movement of support. Money was sent to Leipzig from Paris, Lyons and Strasburg, from Brussels, Berne and Lausanne, from Vienna, Brünn and Graz, and even from St. Petersburg and Riga. Marx knew that such common actions were best suited to the development and strengthening two of the outstanding characteristics of the revolutionary proletariat : class solidarity and proletarian internationalism.

One year later, when the English journeymen tailors carried on a militant struggle against their masters, and the latter sought to bring tailors in from Germany as strike-breakers, Marx helped out again. He appealed to the German tailors in many German newspapers and in a leaflet to reject the tempting offers. He wrote : " It is, further, a point of honour for the German workers to show other countries that they, like their brothers in France, Belgium and Switzerland, know how to defend the common interests of their class and not to offer themselves as *spineless serfs of capital* in the latter's battle against labour."[32]

The appeal was heeded. Most of the German workers who heard of it honoured their class duties. Many, who had already come to England in ignorance of what awaited them, returned home.

Marx knew how to show the workers of every country to which his influence extended that it was in their own interests

to support wage battles of the foreign class comrades. In such actions, primarily as a result of Marx's clarity as to aims and his energetic activity, the International won ever greater prestige among the European, and therefore also the German, workers. This was shown, among other things, in a letter from some Berlin workers who, at the end of 1865, asked Marx again to come to Germany and take over the leadership of the workers' movement. Marx thanked the Berlin colleagues for their confidence and promised that even though he could not move back to Germany, he would support them with advice and help whenever possible.

But the ruling classes also reacted to Marx's growing influence. They did it in their own way—partly, by slandering the " Chief " of the International in the ugliest manner, partly by trying to buy him.

In Germany, Bismarck was preparing German unity under the hegemony of Prussian militarism. Internally, he sought to play the bourgeoisie and the proletariat against each other, so that it would be easier to maintain the hegemony of the *Junkers* and his own personal power. He especially hoped to entice the workers with the introduction of the general right to vote, in which he succeeded with individual leaders like Schweitzer.

Nobody saw through these demagogic tricks more clearly than Marx and Engels. In his work, *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Marx had already exposed such subterfuges of reaction. Just as Napoleon III had bought the petty-bourgeois democrat, Karl Vogt, Bismarck now imagined he could similarly deal with the proletarian revolutionary, Karl Marx. In October 1865, through a middleman, Bismarck passed on the proposal that Marx should write stock market articles for the *Preussischer Staatsanzeiger*, a government newspaper. Whoever during his lifetime desired to work inside the state " would have to *rally round the government* "[33]—with these words Bismarck's middleman sought to bribe Marx. The latter wasted no time on the proposal. He answered Bismarck's lackey with a few senten-

ces "which he probably will not hang on his wall,"[34] and served notice in an unambiguous manner that he was not to be had for any deal whatsoever with the enemies of the people.

But Bismarck had to learn the lesson twice. In April 1867, when Marx was visiting Dr. Kugelmann in Hanover, a representative of the government approached him a second time to inform him that there was a desire "to make use of his great talents in the interests of the German people."[35] Marx scornfully sent this second emissary packing, along with his unabashed offer of corruption. His loyalty to the German working-class was unshakable. His genius, however, was most certainly "made use of in the interests of the German people", though rather differently from the manner visualized by the reactionary rulers of the Prussian state.

Though he devoted his days primarily to the International, Marx dedicated a large portion of each night to his work on *Das Kapital*. Both were indissolubly joined. He applied his new theoretical views in political economy, for example, to his work in the leadership of the International.

In May 1865 a sharp difference of opinion developed in the General Council over the tasks and aims of the trade unions. One of the English representatives had sought to prove that a general increase in wages would be of no use to the workers, because it would immediately lead to an increase in prices. On this he based the conclusion that the work of the trade unions was harmful. In reply, Marx delivered his talk on *Wages, Price and Profit* to the members of the General Council on June 20 and 27. He outlined in it the principles which were later to appear in *Das Kapital* in comprehensive analyses of wages, value, surplus value and other economic phenomena.

Marx formulated his conclusions as decisions which the General Council approved and which belong to the most important documents of revolutionary trade union policy. The struggles of the unions for higher wages, Marx declared, were

necessary, in the first place, to maintain the minimum level of existence of the working class against the capitalists. They have to be carried on without let-up as long as the capitalist system of exploitation exists. "Trade unions work well as centres of resistance against the encroachments of capital." At the same time Marx warned the unions against combating only the symptoms of the capitalist system. It was more important for them to try to change the entire system of exploitation and to use "their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class."[36]

The first congress of the International Workingmen's Association was scheduled to take place in Geneva in September 1866. Marx was unable to take part because he was working intensively on Book One of *Capital*. But he made very thorough preparations for the Congress. He worked out detailed instructions for the delegates of the General Council on all questions on the agenda. He thus guaranteed that the Congress, on all important questions of the class struggle, would support the scientific views fought for by himself and Engels. That was especially so with regard to the trade union question, on which the delegates approved the principles Marx had outlined before the General Council several months previously. His draft proposals on co-operatives and the reduction of the working-day to eight hours were also approved. So were his ideas that the health of the working woman must be protected by law and that child-labour should only be permitted to the extent that it enables the child and the youth to be brought up to be a harmoniously developed personality.

"Under upbringing," Marx wrote, "we understand three things :

"First : *intellectual development*.

"Second : *Physical development*, as practised in the *gymnasium* and in military exercises.

"Third : *Polytechnical education*, which teaches the general principles of production processes and at the same time initiates

the child and the young person into the practical use and operation of simple tools in all branches of labour . . .

" The joining of paid productive work, intellectual upbringing, physical exercises and polytechnical education will lift the working class high above the standard of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie.

" It is self-evident that the employment of all persons from 9 till 17 years (plus night work for them and all work detrimental to health) must be strictly prohibited by law."[37]

The decisions drafted by Marx on other questions, including the Provisional Rules, were also accepted, even when it was often necessary to defend them in heated debates with the Proudhon followers. With these decisions, which were of decisive importance for the future of the International, the delegates identified themselves with the revolutionary program and the organizational principles of democratic centralism which Marx had already put forward at the founding of the International.

How timely and how realistic Marx's demands were that the proletariat organize itself into an independent revolutionary party as quickly as possible became obvious in the developments in Germany. In 1866 Bismarck had pushed on with his policy of unifying Germany through a dynastic war, his policy of " blood and iron." Prussia engaged in war with Austria, Saxony and several other single German states, its aim being to establish its military and political hegemony in Germany. At the same time Bismarck wanted to head off the movement for democratic unification.

Liebknecht, Bebel and the followers of the International in Germany called for an alliance of all the democratic forces so that a revolutionary people's movement could prevent German unification along the reactionary lines sought by Bismarck and to win a democratic nation-state. But the forces they were able to rally were insufficient. A revolutionary party of the working class, the formation of which had been delayed by Lassalleanism, was lacking. The democratic people's movement in 1866 lacked

a consistent leadership and a united organization. The revolutionary crisis could not be utilized ; after 1866 the bourgeoisie moved openly into Bismarck's camp.

Marx foresaw the catastrophic consequences that Prussia's victory over Austria would have for the German nation. The Prussian *Junkers*, he predicted, would do everything in the attempt to extend their rule of the sword and the knout over all Germany. Events confirmed this prediction. But Marx and Engels called for a realistic policy. Though the Communists had desired Prussia's victory least among all the alternatives, nevertheless they had to recognize the new situation, to analyze it objectively, and to take it into account in working out their own tactic.

Prussia had finally ejected Austria from the German national federation by its victory a Königgrätz on July 3, 1866, and by the peace that followed. It had also brought together under its leadership 22 single state and Free Cities of the North German Federation. Bismarck had with this victory taken a decisive step towards the unification of all Germany under the domination of Prussia. The German proletariat was now faced by only one major enemy—the Prussian government and the *Junker*-big bourgeois militarism it represented. At the same time, there were more favourable conditions for the organization and unification of the working class within a national framework. Marx and Engels advised the socialist workers in Germany, especially Liebknecht, to take account of the new factors and to fight on for a democratic republic in the new conditions of the struggle. That required the freeing of the German workers from the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie, the democratic petty-bourgeoisie, as well as from the influence of Lassalleanism, and the establishment of an independent workers' party.

Marx himself helped in this direction in many ways, especially with his major scientific work, *Capital*.

The Major Work Matures

Marx had occupied himself with economic studies since 1844 in order to investigate the specific laws of development of capitalism, "the anatomy of bourgeois society."[38] He interrupted this work only when the political struggle, as in the days of the revolution of 1848—49, demanded all his energies and attention. From the first day of his exile in London, every possible moment left over from his efforts to earn a living and from his work in the International was devoted to *Capital.* Marx saw in science "a historically dynamic, revolutionary force."[39] All his friends and co-workers were agreed that Marx understood how to combine the role of the scientist and the revolutionary, and to unite revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice like few others.

A thousand threads connected Marx's workroom with the pulsing life and struggle of the working class. But his theoretical work, naturally, also chained him often to his desk, night and day, and even weeks at a time. His workroom was always simple, at times even poorly furnished. Bookshelves and cupboards hid all the walls. They were filled with books, piles of newspapers and manuscripts. Two tables were also usually covered with papers, books and journals. On the fireplace stood photos of his wife, his daughters, and his best friends, Engels and Wilhelm Wolff. Scattered over the tables were tobacco pouches, matches, cigars, paperweights and other objects. Against the advice of his doctors, Marx was an inveterate smoker. Since he could only buy the cheapest tobacco grades for decades, this too had an adverse effect on his health. *Capital*, he joked, " will not even bring me the cost of the cigars I smoked while writing ist."[40]

Marx said of his books : " They are my slaves and must serve my will."[41] He marked up everything in them of importance, so that with his trained memory he could at any time find any desired page. He wrote comments, question marks, explanation points in the columns, depending on his reactions to what the author had to say. He drafted synopses of all important books that he read, mostly in notebooks.

In the middle of his workroom there stood a simple small desk with a wooden armchair. An old leather sofa faced the window. During his work he stood up at times and went up and down the room, which relaxed him and stimulated his thinking. He had worn a path in the carpet from the door to the window.

He preferred, however, to relax in the open air. For hours on end he could wander with his children or his friends, talking, going through the fields outside the city and climbing the nearby hills. But in the 1860's the hours became few and far between during which he could relax freely. Mostly, his " wanderings " now served quite another purpose. It was often necessary to hasten from one creditor to another, to negotiate more credit, to

make partial payments, to find new endorsers. Then there were times, as in July 1865, which saw him, as he wrote to Engels, "living entirely on the pawnshop."[42] A few months later he wrote: "If I had enough money . . . for my family, and if my book were finished, I wouldn't care in the least if I were today or tomorrow cast into the carrion pit as a corpse. That, however, is not yet possible."[43] And again, half a year later, in August 1866: "Unfortunately, I am constantly interrupted by 'social troubles' and lose much time. Today, for example the butcher halted all delivery of meat to us, and even my supply of paper will be finished by Saturday."[44] But hardly a week later he wrote a French friend: "You know that I sacrificed my entire fortune to the revolutionary struggle. I do not regret it. If I had to begin my life all over again, I would do the same."[45]

Marx's extraordinary tenacity and energy gave him the strength, even in such depressing periods of want, to imbue the members of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association with revolutionary confidence and militancy, and to dedicate every possible moment to his scientific work.

Marx had begun the writing of the final copy of *Capital* a number of times. During all of 1862 he had filled numerous thick notebooks, which he had planned as sequels to his *Critique of Political Economy*, published in 1859. It was at the beginning of 1863, when he was about to start on a final draft, that the idea ripened in him to organize the immense material on a new basis, to begin all over again from the beginning, and to write a completely separate work, under a new plan, with the title, *Capital*, and the sub-title, *A Critique of Political Economy*. Once again this demanded a comprehensive study of all the source materials.

New questions cropped up when he set about writing the sections on the production of surplus value, machinery and the division of labour. In order to be able to show the connection between social relations and material production more effectively, Marx delayed the drafting of the chapter and took part

in an experimental course on technology at the Institute of Geology. Then, enriched by new concepts, he expanded this section of the manuscript. Many other examples show, as Engels later wrote appreciatively, " the unparalleled conscientiousness and strict self-criticism with which he endeavoured to elaborate his great economic discoveries to the point of utmost completion before he published them. This self-criticism rarely permitted him to adapt his presentation of the subject, in content as well as in form, to his ever widening horizon, the result of incessant study."[46] For the preparation of *Capital*, Marx studied more than 1500 books, making analyses and summaries of them.

From September 1864 on, he had to fall back more and more on exhausting night work in order to find time to finish *Capital* outside of his ceaseless labours for the General Council. He often sat down at his desk after evening meetings to work for a few hours, and the few hours turned into a whole night. If his energy gave out, he laid his economic manuscripts aside and " recuperated " with higher mathematics or perfected his knowledge of languages. But his organism rebelled ever more frequently against the constant overstrain. His liver ailment worsened, and other illnesses, especially his constantly recurring and most painful carbuncles, often hindered work for weeks on end.

Jenny wrote to Ludwig Kugelmann about the conditions under which *Capital* was created : " You can believe me . . . that only seldom has a book been written under more difficult conditions. I could write a secret story about it that would reveal difficulties without number, and anxiety and torment."[47] During the repeated illnesses of her husband, Jenny had to bear many oppressive burdens, but the problems of the existence of the family receded before her ardent nursing of Karl. She never gave up even in the most critical moments. Her personal courage and Engels' selfless help were Marx's best medicine. They always brought back his strength, if only temporarily.

Marx's 25 years of economic studies bore rich fruit in the end. In March 1867 he finished his final draft of the first volume of

Capital. Two more volumes were planned. The whole family celebrated the completion of the finished book with him. Engels wrote Marx enthusiastically on being informed of the news : " Hurrah ! This cry was irrepressible when I at last read in black on white that the first volume is finished."[48]

Marx wanted to bring the manuscript to his Hamburg publisher, Meissner, himself, but his clothing and his watch were at the pawn-broker. Engels helped out again and sent money so that Marx could redeem the articles necessary for the journey and pay the fare. Marx left London on April 10. Storms and turbulent seas brought him a welcome change after the long years of exhausting labor, and he felt " as healthy as a cannibal, like 500 sows."[49]

After a short stay in Hamburg, Marx holidayed as the guest of his friend, the well known medical doctor, Ludwig Kugelmann, in Hanover. There he also corrected the first proofs of *Capital.* He returned to London again on May 19 and then stayed with Engels in Manchester from about May 21 till early in June. During this time they discussed some additions to the appendix of the book. Along with Marx, Engels also proof-read the first volume. Barely three months after his return from the Continent, on the night of August 15—16, Marx could at last send the happy news to Engels :

" Just finished correcting the *last proof sheet*[49] of the book . . .

" So—*this volume is finished.* It was thanks to *you* alone that this became possible. Without your self-sacrifices for me could never possibly have done the enormous work for the three volumes. I embrace you, full of thanks ! "[50]

Capital

On September 14, 1867, the first volume of *Capital* appeared in Hamburg in an edition of 1,000 copies.

In 1844 the young Marx had written that "*man is the highest creature for man*, and it is therefore necessary *to overthrow all conditions* . . . in which man is a debased, an enslaved, an abandoned, disdained creature."[51] The pre-condition for this act of emancipation, however, was the tracking down, with the sharp weapon of scientific thought and to the last detail, of the reasons for the degraded position of the working person, of the exploitation of man by man, and the road to the abolition of this inhumane situation.

Marx had dedicated the best years of his life to this task. It was characteristic of him that in the spring of 1868 he wrote, in

reply to a young comrade who had expressed great impatience to him : " Why I didn't answer you ? Because I was constantly hovering on the edge of the grave. I therefore had to utilize *every* possible moment to finish my book, to which I have sacrificed my health, the happiness of my life, my family. I trust that this explanation requires no postscript. I laugh at the so-called ' practical ' men and their wisdom. If one wants to be an ox, one can naturally turn one's back on the torments of mankind and look out for one's own skin. "[52] It was Marx's aspiration—at whatever cost—to enable the working class to free mankind from exploitation and oppression, from hunger and war. His major work, *Capital*, was also dedicated to this aim.

In *Capital*, Marx especially investigated the relation between capital and labour, between the bourgeoisie and the working class, and showed on the basis of economic laws that the class struggle in capitalism would inevitably lead to the victory of the working class over the bourgeoisie. He described how capital had arisen and developed over the centuries, how it came into existence " dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt."[53] But how did capital grow and spread itself, while the exploitation and the misery of the working masses remained unchanged, yes, grew even greater ?

This secret, which the apologists of the bourgeoisie industriously embellished with fairy-tales of the eternal and God-inspired nature of capitalism, which even those scientists who honestly attempted it could not solve—this secret Marx unlocked with his theory of surplus value. He had already worked out its basic features in the 1850's ; now he brought it before the public in systematic form in *Capital*.

No one has been able to explain the essence of this important scientific discovery of Marx in such precise and at the same time generally understandable manner as Engels. He wrote : " Ever since political economy had put forward the proposition that labour is the source of all wealth and of all value, the question became inevitable : How is this then to be reconciled

with the fact that the wage-worker does not receive the whole sum of value created by his labour but has to surrender a part of it to the capitalist ? Both the bourgeois economists and the Socialists exerted themselves to give a scientifically valid answer to this question, but in vain, until at last Marx came forward with the solution. This solution is as follows : The present-day capitalist mode of production presupposes the existence of two social classes—on the one hand, that of the capitalists, who are in possession of the means of production and subsistence, and, on the other hand, that of the proletarians, who, being excluded from this possession, have only a single commodity for sale, their labour power, and who therefore have to sell this labour power of theirs in order to obtain possession of means of subsistence. The value of a commodity is, however, determined by the socially necessary quantity of labour embodied in its production, and, therefore, also in its reproduction ; the value of the labour power of an average human being during a day, month or year is determined, therefore, by the quantity of labour embodied in the quantity of means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of this labour power during a day, month or year. Let us assume that the means of subsistence of a worker for one day require six hours of labour for their production, or, what is the same thing, that the labour contained in them represents a quantity of labour of six hours ; then the value of labour power for one day will be expressed in a sum of money which also embodies six hours of labour. Let us assume further that the capitalist who employs our worker pays him this sum in return, pays him, therefore, the full value of his labour power. If now the worker works six hours of the day for the capitalist, he has completely replaced the latter's outlay—six hours' labour for six hours' labour. But then there would be nothing in it for the capitalist, and the latter therefore looks at the matter quite differently. He says : I have bought the labour power of this worker not for six hours but for a whole day, and accordingly he makes the worker work 8, 10, 12, 14 or more hours, accord-

ing to circumstances, so that the product of the seventh, eighth and following hours is a product of unpaid labour and wanders, to begin with, into the pocket of the capitalist. Thus the worker in the service of the capitalist not only reproduces the value of his labour power, for which he receives pay, but over and above that he also produces a *surplus value* which, appropriated in the first place by the capitalist, is in its further course divided according to definite economic laws among the whole capitalist class and forms the basic stock from which arise ground rent, profit, accumulation of capital, in short, all the wealth consumed or accumulated by the non-labouring classes. But this proved that the acquisition of riches by the present-day capitalists consists just as much in the appropriation of the unpaid labour of others as that of the slave-owner or the feudal lord exploiting serf labour, and that all these forms of exploitation are only to be distinguished by the difference in manner and method by which the unpaid labour is appropriated. This, however, also removed the last justification for all the hypocritical phrases of the possessing classes to the effect that in the present social order right and justice, equality of rights and duties and a general harmony of interests prevail, and present-day bourgeois society, no less than its predecessors, was exposed as a grandiose institution for the exploitation of the huge majority of the people by a small, ever-diminishing minority."[54]

Naturally, the value of labour-power and the proportionate wages the worker receives for it are not immutable, fixed quantities. As long as capitalism exists, the capitalists attempt with violence, corruption and a thousand different tricks to keep wages as low as possible, while the workers, in the interests of their living standard, fight for the highest possible wage. When Marx wrote *Capital*, the workers had to work about half of their working day to fill the pockets of the capitalists, and since then this unpaid portion of the working day has lengthened.

The outcome of the struggle between workers and capitalists over wage rates depends primarily on the fighting strength of

the working class. That is why *Capital* teaches the working class to fight ceaselessly for the improvement of their living conditions and to unite their strength in powerful organizations. On the basis of the law of surplus value, however, Marx showed with irrefutable logic that the proletariat could never change the essence of exploitation and abolish exploitation itself through economic struggle alone, no matter how great and useful the partial successes may be. Exploitation could only be abolished when its basis, capitalist ownership of the means of production, is abolished.

Marx did not stop with the discovery of the law of surplus value. With his masterful application of the dialectical method, he laid bare the basic contradiction in capitalist production : the contradiction between the social character of production and the increasing socializing of production processes, on the one side, and the private capitalist form of appropriation of the social product, on the other side. He showed how this basic contradiction determined all the other contradictions of capitalism, and tracked down the various manifestations of this fundamental contradiction on the basis of his enormously comprehensive factual material.

The most important expression of this fundamental economic contradiction is the division of society into the two main classes : the bourgeoisie as the builders of capitalist society and the proletariat as its grave-diggers. The relations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are characterized by the expropriation of the social product of the working class by the non-working class of private capitalist owners. The inevitable consequence of this contradiction is the bitter class struggle between the exploiting bourgeoisie and the exploited working class, which has determined the history of bourgeois society. The exploitation of the working class is an objective fact, based on economic relations, as long as capitalist ownership of the means of production exists. That fact cannot be altered in the least by all the declamations and prettifying of the apologists of capitalism.

In analyzing these objective contradictions, which cannot be solved in the framework of the capitalist social order, Marx based himself, and at the same time the working class, on what emerged from these contradictions as new and progressive. What was new, what pointed to the future, was the socializing of the processes of production and the enormous rise in the productive forces of society, which called for social guidance and direction of the processes of production. What was new and progressive was above all the working class itself, the bearers of the new social production force with which modern large-scale production is associated. It was the only class whose material interests were identical with the interests of all other exploited and oppressed strata, the only class " whose vocation in history is the overthrow of the capitalist mode of production and the final abolition of all classes, "[55] the implementing of the boldest dream of mankind.

Marx wrote *Capital* especially for this class, for the struggle of the workers. With special emphasis on the history of English capitalism, he made clear the manner in which not only the material means of production are constantly being created and reproduced anew in the course of English capitalist production, but the conditions for exploitation as well. With the piling up, the accumulation of capital, its power is extended over an ever-increasing number of wage-workers. " Accumulation of capital is, therefore, increase of the proletariat, "[56] the more so as the concentration of production and of capital in the hands of an ever smaller number of big capitalists constantly ruins more small capitalists and small producers and changes them into proletarians.

Thus the process develops within capitalism itself which intensifies the contradiction between the new—the social productive force of labour and the working class—and the old—the concentration of the constantly growing social wealth in the hands of an ever smaller stratum of capitalist magnates. Marx summarized his demonstration of the inevitable victory of the new

socialist order over the old capitalist anarchy in the following words, which since then have become famous and have been confirmed a thousand times in practice : Hand by hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever-extending scale, the cooperative form of the labour-process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labour into instruments of labour only usable in common, the economizing of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialized labour, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world-market, and with this, the international character of the capitalistic régime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation ; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.[57]

The hour has struck : for the first time in 1917 in Russia, since then in a number of other lands, including Marx's homeland. The process of the revolutionary abolition of private capitalist ownership through socialist, social ownership—the expropriation of the expropriators—has for half a century been the decisive characteristic of our epoch. Marx's scientific foresight has been vindicated.

The expropriation of the expropriators takes from the capitalists only what generations of workers have created but have

not received. With the transference of the means of production to social ownership, the producers are at last united with their product and the means of production. The contradiction between the social character of the production process and private capitalist appropriation, the fundamental contradiction of the capitalist mode of production, is set aside. In contrast to the revolutions of the past, in which one form of exploitation was merely replaced by another, the revolution of the proletariat abolishes all exploitation of man by man. The humanist demand is implemented : what the people produce shall belong to the people.

With this compelling logic Marx outlined the inevitable abolition of the capitalist by the communist society and the world historical mission of the working class. In disclosing the laws of development of capitalist society, he transformed socialism forever from a utopia into a science.

In *Capital*, Marx further developed the various components of scientific communism : political economy, dialectical and historical materialism, the theory of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. With *Capital* he crowned his theoretical work.

Marx disclosed the anatomy of capitalist society and its laws of development at a time when it had developed fully only in one country, in England. When he began his work on *Capital*, barely one per cent of the world population were industrial workers, and yet he recognized in this class the future creator of a community of men free of war, poverty and oppression.

In his major work he also developed thoughts and lessons which retain great value for the building of the new socialist society. That is especially true of the methods of building the socialist economy. He investigated the decisive role of the productive forces and their development for the progress of human society. He concerned himself with the necessary, orderly increase in labour productivity and with the problem of labor and education in communism. He studied in detail the close

connection and the interaction between the natural sciences as a productive force and the rhythm of social change. The natural sciences claimed his lively interest at all times. His friendship with Carl Schorlemmer contributed to that, Schorlemmer being a communist and a significant German chemist, who worked as a highly respected professor in Manchester. His discussions about problems of the natural sciences with Schorlemmer, humorously called 'Jollymeyer' by his close friends, were a welcome and necessary supplement for Marx to his economic and philosophical studies.

In *Capital*, he described chemistry, physics, mathematics, technology and other branches of science as " a productive force distinct from labour "[58] in the production process through which the functions of the workers and the division of labour would also be constantly influenced and changed. He saw the setting up of polytechnical and agronomic schools and trade schools as a factor in this process of change. They were already necessary in capitalism in elementary form, but there could be " no doubt that when the working class comes into power, as inevitably it must, technical instruction, both theoretical and practical, will take its proper place in the working-class schools. "[59] Though science, Marx said, could not develop fully as a productive force in capitalism, it would nevertheless contribute significantly to the sharpening of the antagonisms between the steadily developing productive forces and the capitalist form of production. But the historical development of the antagonisms, immanent in a given form of production is the . . . only way in which that form of production can be dissolved and a new form established. "[60] Today the construction of the developed social system of socialism in the GDR confronts us with the task of finding maximum utilization of science as the productive force and the major instrument for the building of the new society. We can all the better appreciate the great value of Marx's studies in the natural sciences and mathematics, which helped him to discover the laws of development of the capitalist mode of production in

their totality, and thereby to indicate in advance practical tasks of socialist construction.

Marx had set himself the task of developing all the volumes of *Capital* as " an artistic whole "[61] and to present them to the public in as unified a form as possible. Before the printing of the first book, he had already written a rough draft of the two following books. After September 1867 he immediately returned to work on these manuscripts. But he was not granted the opportunity to make them ready for the printer. Death claimed him before he could complete the task.

It was then Friedrich Engels who undertook to complete the major scientific work of his friend and comrade and to see them through the printing. Engels could not only read Marx's difficult hand like no one else ; there was also no one else who was so intellectually close to Marx. Marx had discussed every problem, every scientific discovery with him, and not a few of these discoveries were their joint intellectual property.

With the completion of *Capital*, Engels created an unforgettable monument not only to his friend, but also to himself and especially to their unprecedented friendship.

In the first volume, Marx had investigated the production process of capital ; in the second, he investigated the process of circulation and reproduction ; in the third, finally, he analyzed the whole process of capitalist production. He had planned to end the third volume with a study of the development of classes and the class struggle. But with the beginning of the chapter about classes the written draft of the manuscript breaks off.

It was Marx's aim, in *Capital*, " to give the bourgeoisie a blow from which it will never recover. "[62] The century that has gone by since publication of the book shows that he succeeded in this aim.

Before the first volume of *Capital* even left the printer's, Marx was already considering the possibilities of bringing the ideas in it quickly to the revolutionary workers in Germany, France, England and other lands. He looked about for trans-

lators, made contact with daily newspapers—which was often possible only through third parties—and arranged for the book to be publicized in the few available workers' newspapers and journals. With the assistance of Engels and Kugelmann, reviews were arranged in bourgeois papers, in order to circumvent the conspiracy of silence with which bourgeois science had already met other books of Marx and Engels. More important, however, Marx's comrades conveyed the leading ideas of the book to the progressive workers through lectures and extracts in the press. Johann Philipp Becker publicized *Capital* in the journal *Der Vorbote*, and Wilhelm Liebknecht published extracts in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, the paper he put out in Leipzig. Wilhelm Eichhoff, who had become a pupil of Marx in the English exile, gave lectures on *Capital* in Berlin from 1868 on. Wilhelm Bracke, the founder and leader of the Braunschweig workers' movement, turned away from Lassalleanism under the influence of *Capital* and became a Marxist follower.

Marx could inform his friends in October 1868 that in Russia and among Russian emigrants preparations were being made for translation of the first volume of *Capital* into Russian. When the Russian translation, published in St. Petersburg, arrived in 1872, the event was joyfully celebrated in the Marx family. At that moment Marx was already editing the French translation of his work, for which he had revised the whole manuscript. At the same time he had to prepare a new German edition. With great satisfaction he declared in the afterword to this second edition : " The appreciation which *Das Kapital* rapidly gained in wide circles of the German working class is the best reward of my labours."[63]

In 1868 Engels wrote about *Capital* : " As long as there have been capitalists and workers in the world, no book has appeared of such importance to the working class as the one before us."[64] This statement of fact is still true today. Even though capitalism has in our day developed into state monopoly capitalism, it has not in essence changed. The laws of development of capitalism

discovered by Marx have therefore remained valid. As before, the working class in the capitalist world, robbed of the means of production, is still forced to sell its labour power. As before, the capitalists—monopoly owners of the means of production—exploit the workers. No bourgeois theory, whether it speaks of "social partnership" or "class harmony," and no slogan, whether it is that of the "organized society" or the "industrial society," can set aside this contradiction.

Delegate of the International Workers' Movement

When the first volume of *Capital* appeared, the second congress of the International Workingmen's Association had just finished its work in Lausanne. Friend and foe paid far more attention to it than to the Geneva Congress. The reason for this was the increased activity of the working class, which had received a new impetus through the economic crisis that developed in 1866.

In the spring of 1867, the French government moved towards war with the newly founded North German confederation in order to unite Luxembourg with France. The tactic that Marx had outlined in the Inaugural Address for the working class struggle for peace now vindicated itself. While the government papers in Paris pulled out all stops in sowing national hatred

between France and Germany, the members of the International in France organized workers' demonstrations against the war party, sent messages of sympathy to the German workers, and kept the French proletariat from succumbing to bourgeois chauvinism. These appeals found a lively echo among the progressive workers in Germany, Switzerland and also in Italy.

Thus Marx lived to see how the class-conscious workers increasingly took to heart his appeal " to penetrate the secrets of international politics, to keep under surveillance the diplomatic activity of their respective governments, and to work against them when necessary."[65] Soon the ruling classes saw the guiding hand of the International and its " Chief," Dr. Karl Marx, behind every stirring of the working class. But while the hired journalistic hacks of the bourgeoisie dreamed up stories of " secret funds of millions," supposedly at the service of the International, the General Council in reality often lacked the money to print membership cards or Congress minutes, not to speak of Marx, in whose home want and insecurity continued to reign. Despite these material difficulties, Marx could write a friend in 1867 : " As for the International Workingmen's Association, it has become a power in England, France, Switzerland and Belgium."[66] This upward surge of the International had a clear basis : its program and tactics fully expressed the class interests of the workers.

Marx's concern now, in the years of the consolidation of the International, remained the same as in the Inaugural Address and the Provisional Rules, especially with regard to the unity in action of the working class. He always selected demands and slogans that could be understood by all class-conscious workers, which were best suited to stimulate the immediate activity of the proletariat, and to lead the workers in various occupations and of different nationalities to united action. That was often very difficult, since the conditions of struggle in the countries in which the International had influence varied considerably. But Marx tirelessly explained that despite these national features

the unifying element was much greater than what separated the workers.

In the 1860's, the International concentrated especially on the solution of two tasks. On the one hand, it endeavoured to show the workers the close connection between the economic and political struggle ; on the other hand, it endeavoured to orientate them on the democratic and national tasks of the working class, and to make them aware of how the struggle for democracy was bound up with the struggle for socialism.

Marx rejected and combated every attitude that disdained the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of the working people. He pointed out that such a sectarian approach could only drive the workers into the arms of their enemies. On the other hand, he spared no effort to show the proletariat, on the basis of its own experiences, that the improvements it was able to win in its living conditions, no matter how useful and necessary they might be, in no way changed the essence of capitalist exploitation.

The trade union organizations in England, France, Germany and other countries confirmed in practical struggle the views Marx fought for in the General Council of the International. The unions increasingly became gathering-points for the workers. The proletarians, till then disunited, began to advance together. The International made it clear to them that it was in their own interests to support even the wage struggles of their foreign class comrades. Step by step, support developed for the Marxist view that the trade unions must not only fight for the improvement of the economic situation of the workers, but are themselves " much more important as *the organized force for the abolition of the system of wage-labour and the rule of capital.*"[67] The unions proved their value as schools of solidarity, as schools of socialism. Marx noted with satisfaction how followers of Proudhon or Lassalle, under the influence of their own experiences, increasingly abandoned their antiunion prejudices.

Their experiences in the economic as well as the political

struggle very soon taught the various sections of the international workers' movement to concern themselves also with the winning and consolidating of political rights and democratic freedoms. Marx and Engels devoted considerable time and effort to showing the workers in the International the close connection between the fight for bourgeois-democratic freedoms and the struggle for the social emancipation of the proletariat. They demanded that the International support every democratic movement that could help gather the masses around the working class, weaken feudal or big business reaction, and achieve political or social progress.

Marx considered the movement for the right to vote in England from 1865 to 1867 to be such a progressive movement. At issue was the winning of the universal right to vote for the entire male population over 21. Together with the trade union leaders represented on the General Council, Marx worked to get the unions to place themselves at the head of this democratic movement. In this manner, he anticipated, the unions would not only themselves take the step from the economic to the political struggle, but would also help draw the mass of the workers, even those still unorganized, into the political movement.

Marx warned against the attempts of the bourgeois liberals to influence the movement and to water down its aims. At the same time, he saw to it that, on the initiative of the General Council, an organizational centre was set up for the right-to-vote movement, the Reform League. This organization, indirectly led by Marx and other members of the General Council, worked for a long time to win support for an independent political line towards the bourgeois parties. Marx worked to influence the Reform League primarily through his old friend, Ernest Jones, a proletarian publicist and poet who had an authoritative position in the League. Marx supported the proletarian elements in the League. He counselled them to work together with the bourgeois representatives for a reform in the right to vote, but at the same time urged them not to retreat an inch from the

workers' demand for the unlimited, *universal* right to vote, and to maintain vigilance towards the spokesmen of the bourgeois parties.

Under the leadership of the Reform League, the movement quickly developed in scope. In July, August and the succeeding months of 1866 tens of thousands demonstrated in London, Birmingham, Leicester, Manchester, Glasgow and in other industrial centres. In some places even hundreds of thousands demonstrated on behalf of the desired voting reform, often in the face of vicious police attacks.

Marx followed this great political mass movement, which carried on the tradition of the Chartists, with ardent interest. He was quick to note, even in the early stages, the disastrous readiness to compromise among many leaders of the Reform League. His fears were confirmed when the government put through an electoral reform that granted basic democratic voting rights to only one fifth of the men deprived of them till then. Although the mass of the workers continued to remain without political rights, the leaders of the Reform League capitulated and gave up the battle.

Marx also took an active part in the struggle for freedom of the Irish people, which was up in arms against the brutal oppression of the English bourgeoisie. Assisted by Engels, he deepened his knowledge of Irish history and came to the conclusion that a free Ireland was a pre-condition for the victory of the English proletariat over its own bourgeoisie and over the titled landowners. Just as he had ceaselessly fought for a free Poland from 1847 on, which he considered the pre-condition for the victory of the democratic movement in Germany and for the destruction of czarism in Russia, so he now worked in the General Council and with leaflets and lectures for the liberation of Ireland in the interests of social progress in England. In this fight he was passionately assisted by his whole family, especially by his eldest daughter, Jenny. In 1870, for example, Jenny published many articles in the French press in which she de-

nounced the infamous treatment of imprisoned Irish freedom-fighters. Her articles were reprinted by many newspapers and had such an impact that the English government was finally forced to release a number of Irish patriots. There was a great celebration in the Marx home on the day of their release.

In July 1867 Marx received a letter from a German immigrant in the United States stating that he desired to set up a section of the Workingmen's International Association in Hoboken near New York. The letter was from Friedrich Adolph Sorge, a brave fighter of the 1848 revolution in Germany now living in Hoboken. Marx furthered this project to the extent he could and for some years carried on the correspondence of the General Council with the German communists in the USA. He regularly sent Sorge, with whom he soon stood in a friendly relationship, the materials of the General Council as well as newspapers, gave him concise suggestions for his political activity and discussed with him the problems of the young workers' movement in the USA.

Marx never for a moment doubted that the development of the North American workers' movement would depend in a decisive manner on the stand of the class-conscious workers towards the Negro problem, because, he wrote, " labour in a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labour in a black skin is brand-marked."[68] He pointed out patiently to Sorge and other American communists that despite the varying ideological views of the immigrants and the national contradictions between them, the primary task in the USA was to unite the greatest possible number of workers for joint action, and then to win them, step by step, for a single scientific political program.

In the spring of 1869, when war threatened to break out between England and the USA, Marx wrote a message to the National Labour Union of the United States on behalf of the General Council, calling upon the American workers to resist the war-bent plantation owners and lords of finance. A war unleashed by the ruling classes of England and the USA could

only " forge chains for the free workers, instead of shattering those of the slaves." Marx continued : " On you, then, falls the honourable task of showing the world that the working class now at last steps onto the showplace of history, no longer as dependent subjects, but as an independent power conscious of its own responsibility and capable of imposing peace where those who wish to be their lords cry war."[69]

Marx's many personal contacts with revolutionary French workers and communists resulted in frequent requests for his aid when the development of the International in France was discussed in the General Council. In March 1865 he had already described to Engels the claims on his time and energy :

" *Feb. 28.* Tolain and Fribourg here from Paris. Meeting of the Central Council . . . till midnight. Then a night meeting in Bolleter's Tavern, where I had to sign about 200 (membership) cards.

" *March 1.* Poland meeting.

" *March 4. Meeting of the sub-committee on the French question* till 1 in the morning.

" *March 6. Meeting of the sub-committee* about ditto till 1 in the morning.

" *March 7. Sitting of the Central Council* till midnight. *Taking of decision.*"[70]

When about 1500 bronze workers of Paris, in February 1867, began a fight for their right to organize and asked the General Council for assistance, the Council immediately began a money collection for the strikers. Marx and other members of the General Council declared their willingness to seek support from the London unions for their striking French class brothers. They raised considerable financial aid and thereby strengthened the French workers' fighting morale. " As soon as the masters saw that, they gave in," Marx reported to Engels with satisfaction. " The thing has stirred up a rumpus in the French papers and we are now an established power in France."[71]

Such successes in Paris and other French cities by 1868 brought

2,000 members into the Paris sections of the International and gratified Marx greatly. But the burden of work for him and for his comrade, Eugène Dupont, the corresponding general-secretary for France, grew even greater as a result of the increased influence of the International, especially when the government of Napoleon III in the same year began to terrorize the French section with the arrest of its leading members and the staging of show-trials against them.

Marx also played a part in the successes chalked up by the International in Belgium and Switzerland. In Belgium, in 1867, 1868 and 1869, there were demonstrations and strikes among the coal miners against higher prices, wage cuts and part-time work. The government in every case called in the military and many workers were killed. From the very beginning in 1867, the General Council appealed to the workers of all lands for solidarity with the widows and orphans of their murdered Belgian mates. After the massacre of 1868, the Belgian section of the International developed a campaign of protest, called mass meetings, publicly denounced the mine-owners and their patrons in the government, and organized activity for material aid together with the General Council. In 1869 the International's solidarity actions for the Belgian miners reached their highpoint.

After the repressive measures against the miners in 1869 the General Council immediately authorized Marx to draft a statement of protest, in the name of the General Council, against the acts of brutality of the Belgian government. Marx wrote an *Appeal to the Workers of Europe and the United States* at the end of April and the beginning of May in English and French and submitted it to the General Council on May 4. The Council decided to print and circulate the appeal without delay. Marx's accusations against the Belgian mine-owners, and the government which " demonstratively plays the role of their gendarme against labour," thereupon appeared in French and German workers' papers, and as a leaflet in England. There was also a wide response to Marx's appeal " to organize the raising of

money to lessen the sufferings of the widows, wives and children of the Belgian victims, to defray the legal expenses of workers charged in the courts, and to help the investigation planned by the Brussels Committee."[72] Messages of solidarity and financial contributions came in from many countries for the Belgian workers, including 25 thaler sent Marx by Bebel. Despite the brutality with which the Belgian government acted against the arrested workers and the local section of the International, it could not prevent the marked rise in the influence of the International in Belgium as a result of its demonstration of international solidarity with the Belgian workers.

Similarly in Switzerland. In Geneva, in March and April 1868, some 3,000 building workers struck for reduction of the working day to 10 hours, for wage increases and for the introduction of hourly instead of daily rates. The strike was led by the German and Italian-speaking central committees of the International in Geneva. At issue, Marx wrote, " was the question of the existence of the International in Switzerland, since the building lords made the withdrawal of the workers from the International the preliminary condition for any compromise. The workers vigorously rejected this presumption."[73]

Since the strength of the Geneva workers was insufficient, they sent a representative to London to ask for help from the whole International. Once again the General Council quickly organized solidarity actions in many lands. Contributions came from France and England, from Belgium and some areas of Germany, gathered from class brothers who were similarly impoverished but who acted out of internationalism. Thanks to this generous support, the striking Geneva building workers forced their employers to give in and thereby won enormous prestige for the International. In the weeks that followed, more than one thousand Swiss workers, impressed by the power of organization and international solidarity, took out membership in the International.

Marx took part ardently in the development of the Russian

revolutionary-democratic movement (as did Engels and other leading representatives of the international workers' movement). He saw in it a powerful force in the fight against the czarist oligarchy, which not only oppressed the peoples of Russia and Poland, but also played the role of an international gendarme in relation to the revolutionary movement in Europe. Marx therefore declared repeatedly—in his speeches to the General Council and also in many documents of the International—that the European proletariat and the Russian revolutionary-democratic movement shared common tasks in the struggle against the czarist oligarchy and therefore had to fight shoulder to shoulder.

In March 1870 Marx received news that Russian emigrants living in Geneva had formed a section of the International. The members of the section, who were still very much under the influence of the ideas of the revolutionary-democratic writers, N. G. Chernyshevsky and N. A. Dobroliubov, asked Marx to be their representative on the General Council and wrote : " The neighbouring lands, Russia and Germany, have quite a few things in common ; the Slavic countries and Germany have a number of similar conditions and common enemies, and there can be no doubt that the Holy Alliance of the monarchy can only be overthrown through the alliance of true socialists, who defend the interests of labour in the struggle against capital and czarism."[74]

Marx agreed to the request and now worked as Corresponding Secretary for both Germany and Russia. In his reply to the members of the Russian section he emphasized that " the Russian socialists, by working for the shattering of the chains on Poland " have undertaken " a great task which requires the abolition of the military regime, which is urgently necessary as a pre-condition for the general liberation of the European proletariat."[75] And in the letter in which he reported to Engels about this correspondence, he added humorously : " What I cannot forgive these fellows, however, is that they elevate me to a ' Vener-

able.' They evidently think I am between 80 and 100 years old."[76]

From now on Marx regularly informed the Russian section about the work of the General Council and drew them into the general work of the International. He helped the Russian revolutionaries to recognize the historical mission of the working class ever more clearly and to make the principles of scientific communism the guiding line of their activity. In this he was soon being strongly supported by the Russian revolutionary, G. A. Lopatin. Lopatin became friends with Marx in the summer of 1870, was soon taken onto the General Council at Marx's suggestion, and as translator of *Capital* helped spread Marxist ideas.

It was characteristic of Marx's work on the General Council that he understood, just as decades before in the editing of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, how to surround himself with fellow-fighters who were selfless and devoted to the working class. Under his influence, many of them, at times in the course of many long years of working together, made the ideas of scientific communism their own, and developed themselves into bold, many-sided and politically experienced workers' leaders. Some of them took the first decisive step into the revolutionary workers' movement only under the guidance of Marx. These included the Russian student German Lopatin ; the French pattern-maker Auguste Seraillier, from 1869 on a member of the General Council and for a time Corresponding Secretary for Belgium ; the French medical student, Paul Lafargue, from 1866 on Corresponding Secretary for Spain and a member of the General Council. Others had already stood for decades in the front ranks of the proletarian emancipation movement, such as the Frenchman, Eugène Dupont, who was a member of the General Council from 1864 on and was secretary for France for many years. The Englishman, Robert Shaw, similarly belonged to the General Council from its first days and worked as treasurer of the Council and secretary for the USA. Hermann Jung, a member of the Council from 1864 to 1872, was Corresponding Secretary

for Switzerland and president of most Congresses of the International. The Pole, Antoni Zabicki, from 1866 on represented the revolutionary Polish emigrants on the General Council as Corresponding Secretary for Poland. Friedrich Lessner, a member of the General Council from 1864 till 1872, belonged to the pioneers of the international workers' movement and had already accumulated his first experiences in the Communist League. No matter how different in age and origin, in nationality and experience, they were one in their willingness to share all burdens and all sacrifices in the work of bringing together the awakening proletariat of all lands in a fraternal alliance, in a revolutionary class organization, and to equip it with the theories of scientific communism. They were also one in their great respect for Marx, in their recognition of his leading role in the international workers' movement, about which they wasted few words but which was taken for granted among them, as was their friendship with him as the trusted spokesman of the movement. Some of these co-workers of Marx on the General Council years and decades later worked as pioneers of the workers' movement in their native countries, as the founders of revolutionary workers' parties in France, Spain, Belgium, Denmark and Hungary.

In the direction of the International, Marx attached special importance to the experiences accumulated in revolutionary struggles by the various organizations affiliated with the International. He wrote : " The joint actions sponsored by the International Workingmen's Association, the exchange of ideas facilitated by the organs of the various national sections and the direct debates at the general congresses, will not fail to produce, more and more, a common theoretical program."[77] That a scientific program, that is, Marxist principles, gradually won the day in the International was reflected increasingly in its resolutions and circulars, and especially in the decisions of its annual congresses.

Where a majority at the Geneva congress of 1866 already supported Marx's views—especially with regard to the connec-

tion between the economic struggle and the political struggle—the Brussels Congress went even further in the same direction. The congress participants declared in a resolution that it was inevitable that the privately owned land, the railways, the mines and other means of production would be turned into the property of society. In this manner the congress provided an answer to the all-important question of property relations in the transformation of society, and it did so in the sense of the scientific ideas of Marx and Engels. Now Marx's long years of effort bore fruit in a greater clarity and the unified view among the progressive sections of the international working class that the aim of the struggle of the working class was the setting up of a socialist society, and that this demanded the socialization of the means of production. Since then the approach to the abolition of private property in the means of production has been the test of the socialist character of every workers' program and every workers' organization.

One year later, in September 1869, the Basle congress of the International declared that it was the opinion of the international revolutionary workers' movement " that society has the right to abolish private ownership of the land and to turn it into common property."[78]

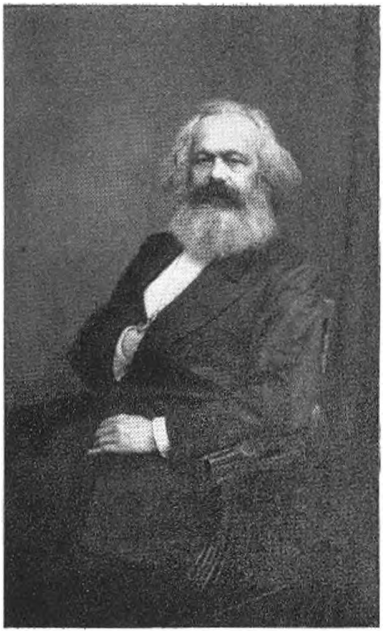
This sealed the defeat of Proudhonism and of petty-bourgeois reformism in the International on the question of property.

Trailblazer of the German Social Democratic Workers' Party

In 1867, reporting to a friend about the successes of the International, Marx was able to name France, England, Belgium and Switzerland as countries in which it had " become a power ;"[79] as secretary for Germany, however, he was not able to include his land of birth. But after the publication of *Capital*, the International began to make swift progress in Germany also. Though official bourgeois scientific circles stubbornly tried to bury the book with silence, it began to have an immediate effect. Marx devoted considerable effort to spreading the most important ideas of his major work among the German workers.

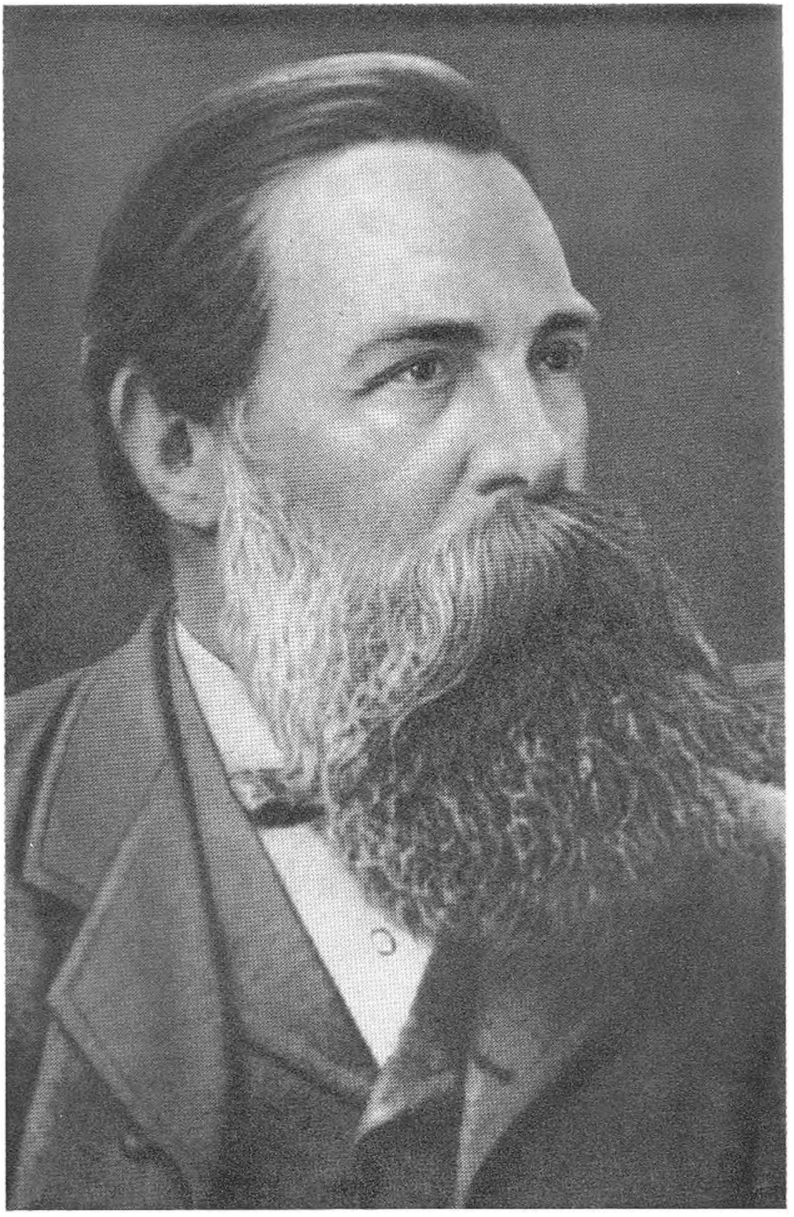
The years that followed brought a number of very clear successes. In February 1867 August Bebel was elected to the

41 Maitland Park Road in London, the Marx family's home from March 1875 to Marx's death



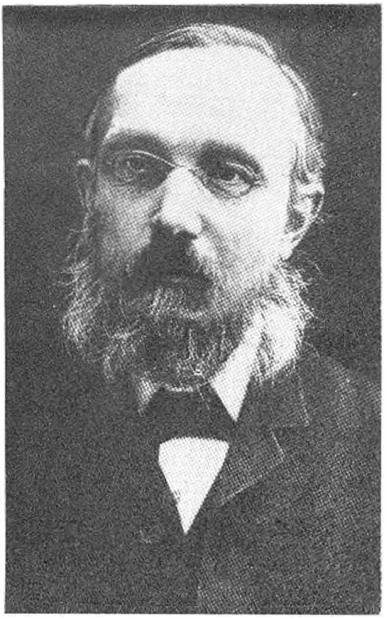
Karl Marx and Jenny Marx in the 1870's

Eleanor Marx



Friedrich Engels in 1879

A page from Marx's letter to Wilhelm Bracke including marginal notes to the program of the German Workers' Party



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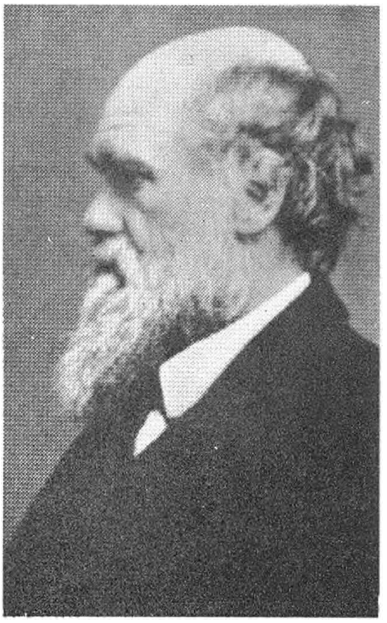
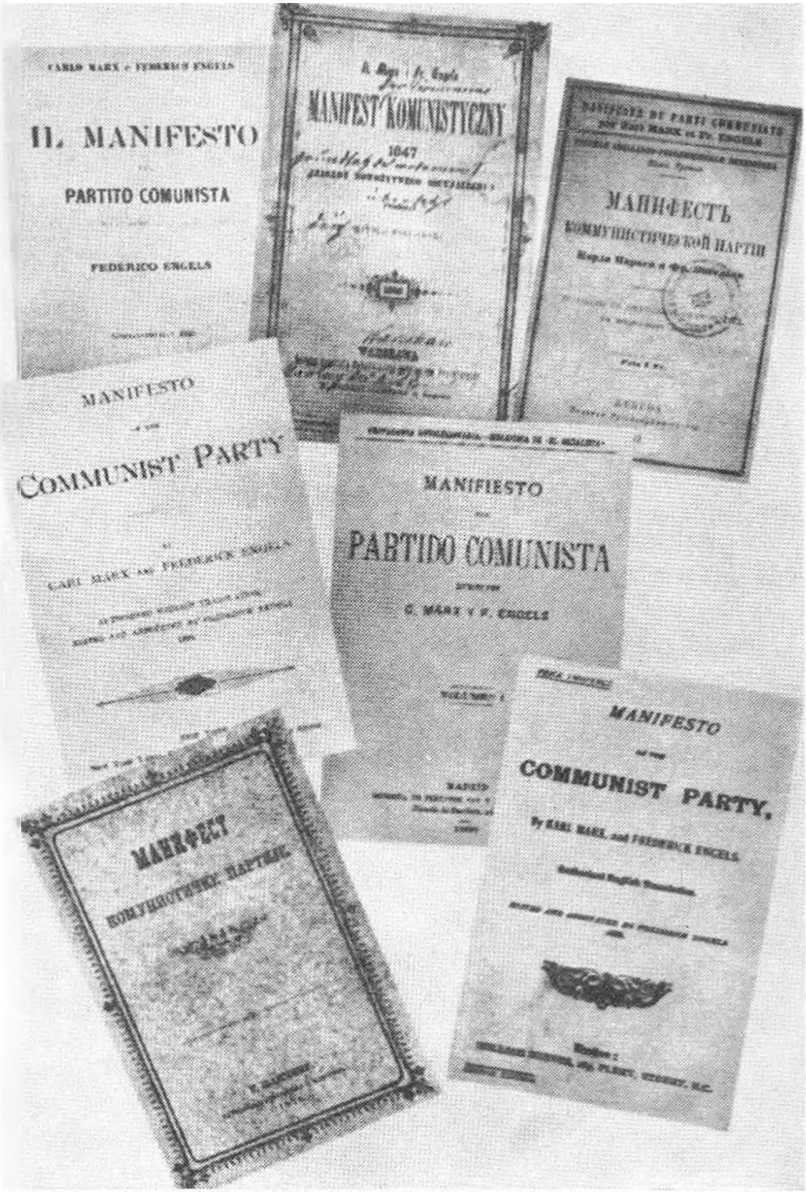
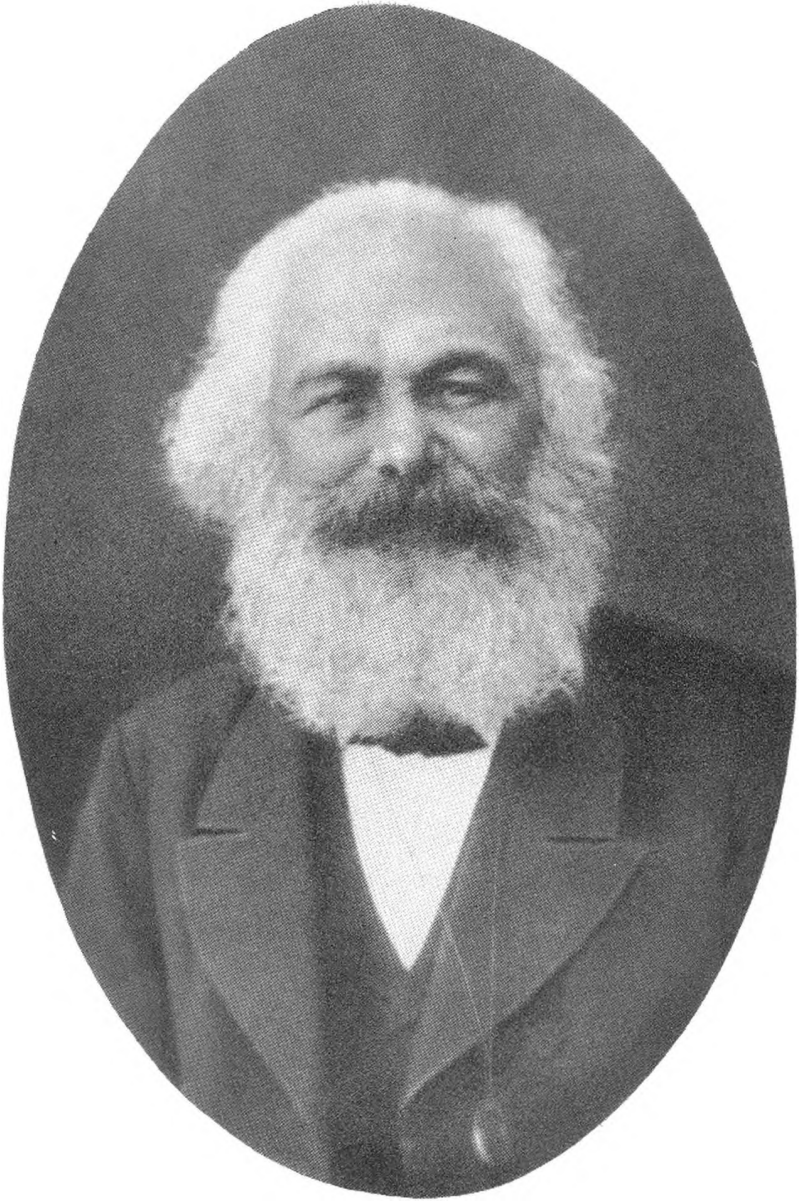


Charles Darwin



Some of the translations of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* published in Marx's lifetime



Marx's last photograph taken in 1882

North German constituent parliament. In August, in the elections to the first formal legislative period of the same parliament, Wilhelm Liebknecht was elected as well as Bebel. They were the first revolutionary workers' political representatives in a bourgeois parliament and immediately attacked Prussian militarism from their new tribune. Marx valued these successes highly. In letters to Liebknecht he passed on suggestions as to how the latter and Bebel could utilize parliament in the struggle for the interests of the workers. A few weeks later, in October, the Federation of German Workers' Associations elected Bebel as its president. In the summer of 1868 there were public discussions in the federation about taking over the program of the International Workingmen's Association.

Although Marx was at the time plagued by illness and depressing financial difficulties, he did everything to hasten this turn of the class-conscious German workers towards the International, and thereby to scientific communism. To that end he gathered material for a brochure about the aims and the role of the International which Wilhelm Eichhoff prepared. Marx himself drafted parts of the manuscript and corrected Eichhoff's text from the first to the last line. The brochure appeared in August 1868 under the title, *The International Workingmen's Association*, and was used to acquaint the awakening, class-conscious German workers with the program of the International. It gave many hundreds of revolutionary proletarians the ammunition with which to settle accounts with the petty-bourgeois democrats, who wanted to hold back the independent growth of the workers' movement.

In September 1868 the Nuremberg convention of the Federation of German Workers' Associations decided to associate itself with the aspirations of the International and adopted a program along those lines. Now it was not a few dozen or a few hundred individual members who stood behind Marx ; now the most progressive organization of the German working class, with well over 6,000 members, had rallied to his ideas. At the

same time, scientific communism won increasing influence in the General German Workers' Association as well. In the latter organization it was especially the opposition elements, led by Wilhelm Bracke, who worked for a revolutionary working class policy and who, on the basis of their own experiences and a study of Marx's *Capital*, recognized that not Lassalle's reformism, but only the scientifically developed ideas of Marx and Engels could lead the working class to success.

At the third congress of the International in Brussels, in mid-September 1868, the German delegates introduced a resolution advising all workers to study *Capital*. "It is Marx's inestimable merit," the resolution said, "to be the first political economist to have scientifically analyzed capital and to have defined its individual parts."[80] The resolution was unanimously adopted. The international working class, for whom Marx had written *Capital*, began more and more to make the ideas in the book its own. Marx was especially proud of the fact that the workers of his native land pioneered in this respect.

Despite the gratifying progress of the International in Germany, the unification of the German workers' movement in a revolutionary class party was by no means achieved at the Nuremberg convention of the workers' associations. But the convention did produce a program that pointed out the correct road to this historically necessary unity.

As secretary for Germany, Marx sought to bring together, under the banner of the International, both the Federation of German Workers' Associations and the General German Workers' Association. Engels assisted Marx's efforts with articles he published in the German workers' newspapers and with studies which he carried out for the General Council at Marx's request. These included a comprehensive "Report on the Miners' Associations in the Coal Mines of Saxony," prepared by Engels in early 1869 and based on information and materials sent Marx by the miners of Lugau, Niederwürschnitz and Oelsnitz. The report, a bitter attack on the coal barons of Saxony, was pre-

sented to the General Council, was approved by it, and published in German and English newspapers.

Marx strongly supported every tendency in the General German Workers' Association that freed the workers from the Lassallean dogmas, just as he used his influence with Bebel and Liebknecht to break their connections completely with the petty-bourgeois democrats' popular party and to found an independent proletarian party organization. In the spring of 1869 it seemed as if this tactic would soon lead to success. In this situation Schweitzer, who feared for the loss of his personal power, torpedoed Marx's hopes. He rammed through a completely sectarian set of rules in the General German Workers' Association which gave him dictatorial powers as association president, and which thereby sharpened the antagonisms between his organization and the Federation of German Workers' Associations. Marx's plan for the founding of an independent party organization on the basis of the program of the International had, however, called forth such a response in Schweitzer's organization also, that many of its functionaries turned away from their president. In the summer of 1869 they organized a general workers' congress at Eisenach, along with Bebel and Liebknecht, numerous representatives of trade union organizations and the sections of the International, for the purpose of founding a unified, revolutionary party of the German proletariat.

Marx followed this development with great expectations. He called on Liebknecht to take an unequivocal stand for an independent workers' party at Eisenach, a party that would be as free of Lassallean dogmas as of every organizational and ideological connection with the petty-bourgeois democrats.

It was in this spirit that the Social Democratic Party was founded in Eisenach in August 1869 under the leadership of Bebel and Liebknecht. In its program, the party demanded the abolition of class rule through the ending of private ownership of the means of production. It declared its unequivocal support of

proletarian internationalism and declared itself to be "*a branch of the International Workingmen's Association*, to the extent allowed by the Association rules."[81] Though some Lassallean and vulgar-democratic hangovers still persisted in the party in some things, it nevertheless stood on solid Marxist ground on the decisive theoretical, tactical and organizational questions.

With the Social Democratic Workers' Party, the so-called Eisenach party, the German proletariat now had a revolutionary vanguard that took up the fight against both Prussian militarism and the bourgeoisie, and carried on the traditions of the Communist League. In the period that followed, it developed into the first mass Marxist party in the German and international workers' movement.

On August 9, 1869, Marx received a telegram from Liebknecht that informed him of the successful founding of the Social Democratic Workers' Party in Eisenach. Years earlier, the Lassallean leaders had sneered with uplifted noses that the "Marx Party" consisted in all of three men—Marx as "chief," Engels "secretary," and Liebknecht as their "agent." But now the Eisenach congress demonstrated to all who could see that the forward march of scientific communism could not be held up, because it was the theoretical expression of the interests of the proletariat. Marx and Engels called the Eisenach party "our party,"[82] and stood behind its leaders with aid and advice in the years that followed, just as they had blazed the trail for the party previously.

A few weeks after the Eisenach Congress, Marx travelled to Germany with his daughter Jenny, whose health urgently required a change of air. After staying with relatives in Aachen, they visited the worker-philosopher, Joseph Dietzgen, in Siegburg, and Marx's old comrade, Paul Stumpf, in Mainz. Then they were the guests of the Kugelmann family in Hanover for about three weeks. Marx also urgently needed these weeks of recuperation, but he was not the type who could simply withdraw from the problems and needs of the workers in his native

land. Thus he met with trade union officials and leading members of the newly organized Social Democratic Workers' Party during his stay in Hanover. At such a meeting he became acquainted with Wilhelm Bracke, the most important figure in the young party after Bebel and Liebknecht. Marx found in the barely twenty seven-year old Braunschweig book-dealer a selfless young man who was utterly devoted to the working class. They quickly became friends.

On his return from Hanover, Marx resumed his duties on the General Council. Now the secretary for Germany was no longer a general without an army ; behind him stood the first independent national workers' party, whose experiences and successes Marx immediately generalized for the whole International. This was especially necessary, because at the end of the 1860's, when Proudhonism had at last been beaten back, a new and dangerous enemy of the revolutionary workers' movement arose within the International : Bakuninism. This variation of anarchism fought for by the Russian emigrant, M. A. Bakunin, opposed the organization of the proletariat in trade unions and parties. It supported a sectarian, adventurist, putschist policy and tactic which could only benefit reaction. Mikhail Bakunin, who lived mostly in Switzerland, found a hearing primarily among the workers of Switzerland, Italy, Spain and the south of France, in short, in countries and areas which were still industrially little developed.

Marx knew Bakunin as a courageous, brilliant man who, as a result of his exaggerated personal ambition, was unheeding of others, and an unscrupulous petty-bourgeois revolutionary in his methods. He saw that Bakunin's theories and practical activity endangered everything that the General Council had achieved with patient work, that Bakunin's ultimate aim was " to transform the International into his private instrument."[83] With great energy, Marx set about mobilizing all the class-conscious elements in the International against this onslaught on the revolutionary workers' movement. In this the German party was his

strongest support. Its very existence, as well as its success, were most convincing evidence of the nonsense and the inconsistencies in Bakunin's ideas. As recognition of the role of the German party, Marx supported the proposal put forward by Bebel and Liebknecht that the next congress of the International in September 1870 be held in Mainz. But things turned out differently. While the workers' movement in the various countries prepared for the congress of the International, the ruling classes of France and Germany prepared for war.

The International on Trial

On July 19, 1870, France's Emperor Napoleon III declared war against Prussia, after Bismarck had provoked him into doing so by devious diplomatic intrigues. Marx had long foreseen that the adventurer on the French throne, and the Prussian *Junkers* who sought the unification of Germany with " blood and iron," were both steering towards war. Now, when the war broke out, Marx and the International set out to arm the workers in the various countries for the new situation that had arisen overnight.

On the very first day of the war Marx met with the members of the General Council to discuss the steps to be taken and accepted the assignment of working out a public declaration on the character of the war and the tactic of the revolutionary

workers' movement under the conditions created by it. For the next four days Marx sat at his desk practically without pause to draft the document. While he worked, he also had to evaluate carefully every report that came in from France and Germany. On July 23, he submitted his draft to the secretaries in the General Council responsible for the individual countries. They agreed to the document. A few days later the whole General Council unanimously approved the Address and decided that it be printed and distributed in English, French and German.

As a humanist, Marx hated war. He had proved that wars have their origin in the social situation, that it was necessary to remove from power the militarists and those exploiters who gained profit from war if mankind's longing for peace was to be fulfilled. This task, with which objective conditions confronted the proletariat, also had to determine the attitude of the working class to those wars which it was as yet too weak to prevent.

In his Address, Marx described the war as follows : On France's side it was a dynastic war which served Bonaparte's personal power. Germany, on its side, had to conduct a war of defence in order to defend national unification. " But who put Germany to the necessity of defending herself ? Who enabled Louis Bonaparte to wage war upon her ? *Prussia* ! It was Bismarck who conspired with that very same Louis Bonaparte for the purpose of crushing popular opposition at home and annexing Germany to the Hohenzollern dynasty."[84]

Marx thus reminded the German workers of Bismarck's anti-democratic policy and showed them that in the war against France Bismarck also pursued his own piratical aims. The German working class, therefore, had to implement what the Inaugural Address had already proposed : it had to fight for its own foreign policy, and to confront the anti-national policy of war of the ruling classes with its own policy of peace. It had to support the war as long as it was a just war, a war against Napoleon III, the main enemy of German unification. Nevertheless, " if the German working class allow the present war to

lose its strictly defensive character and to degenerate into a war against the French people, victory or defeat will prove alike disastrous."[85]

Marx was confident that the German and the French workers would fulfil their duties as internationalists. He was not disappointed. In Paris and other French cities, in Berlin, Braunschweig, Chemnitz (now Karl Marx Stadt—transl.), Dresden, Leipzig and other localities hundreds and thousands of French and German workers spoke out against the war. In the name of 50,000 workers of Saxony a meeting of delegates declared in Chemnitz : " We are happy to grasp the fraternal hand stretched out to us by the workmen of France . . . Mindful of the watchward of the International Workingmen's Association, ' Proletarians of all countries, unite !'—we shall never forget that the workmen of *all* countries are our *friends* and the despots of *all* countries *our enemies.*"[86]

With great pride Marx cited this expression of proletarian internationalism and concluded the Address of the General Council with the words : " This great fact, unparalleled in the history of the past, opens the vista of a brighter future. It proves that in contrast to old society, with its economic miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up, whose international rule will be *Peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—*Labour* !"[87]

From the very first day of the war Marx had already foreseen its consequences. He and Engels never for a moment doubted that the victory would go to Prussia and its allied German states. The French Empire had been weakened too much by corruption and mismanagement of the economy, the superiority of the Prussian armed forces was too great, and the German people were determined to defeat Napoleon's interference in their affairs. But Marx saw further. He knew that the national unification of Germany would make the future struggles of the German workers easier ; the German workers' movement —" theoretically and organizationally stronger than the

French "—would achieve such an importance that "the centre of gravity of the west European workers' movement would be transferred from France to Germany."[88] Such a leading position for the German workers' movement, the first to form a national party and to adopt scientific communism as its theory, would emphasize the international significance and facilitate the spreading of Marxism, and thereby also help the struggle of the French working class.

A flood of work descended on Marx during these events. His duties on the General Council grew enormously, since some of the secretaries had hurried to France. Marx arranged for Engels to write articles regularly for one of the most important newspapers, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, on the military developments in the war. These anonymously published commentaries, thanks to Engels' brilliant analyses and prognoses, were soon the most frequently reprinted and most widely read series on the subject in the English press. They led Marx's daughter, Jenny, to nickname Engels the "General," and the name stayed with him, in the circle of his intimate friends, for the rest of his life.

Now the division of labour between Marx and Engels justified itself once more. Marx was able, because of it, to continue concentrating on his work in the General Council and on assisting the individual workers' organizations. In order to help the French and German members of the International, it was necessary to answer many questions, to write many letters, to deter those who had hopeless plans for uprisings, to encourage others in their resistance to Prussian militarism and rampaging chauvinism. Marx respectfully welcomed the "act of courage"[89] of Bebel and Liebknecht, who in the North German parliament unequivocally repudiated the dynastic aims of Prussia and called upon the European peoples "to win the rights of self-determination for themselves and to overthrow the contemporary rule of the sword and the upper classes as the basis of all state and social evils."[90] But he indignantly condemned the

attitude of the Lassallean leaders who unreservedly supported Bismarck's policy.

Marx fought for the principle that the working class and its vanguard, the party, should under no circumstances isolate themselves in a sectarian manner in the struggle against the war and the danger of war. On the contrary, without giving up their own independent viewpoint, they had to support all anti-war actions, even when these did not originate in the working class. Marx consistently implemented this principle in his own work. When French and German petty-bourgeois democrats and pacifists living in London united in a joint protest against the war, Marx supported their humanist project. He took up personal contact with the spokesman of this group, the German publicist Eugen Oswald, tried to rid him of his pacifist illusions, but always made the common fight of the pacifists and the International against the war the main point.

Before the war German workers and socialists had increasingly turned to Marx for advice ; now the questions and inquiries became even more frequent. The leading committee elected by the Eisenach congress of the Social Democratic Workers' Party, for example, asked Marx in August what tactic the German socialists should follow in such a complicated situation. Marx consulted immediately with Engels and at the end of August wrote a number of letters to the German party leaders with the following suggestions : to support the national movement to the extent that, and as long as, it confines itself to the defence of Germany ; always to point out the difference between the national German and the dynastic Prussian interests ; determinedly to oppose the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine ; as soon as a republican government comes to power in Paris, to work for an honourable peace ; at all times and at every opportunity to stress and to respect the common interests of the German and French workers as class brothers.

Marx used strong words with which to pillory the Prussian-German militarists and bourgeoisie who, fanatical with chau-

vinism, drugged by the victories of the German armies, loudly demanded the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine. Marx made it clear that the annexation of the French province of Alsace-Lorraine would rule out genuine peace between France and Germany and be the surest way of perpetuating militarist despotism in a future unified Germany. " Whoever is not completely deafened by the cry of the moment or who has no interest in deafening the people, must see that the war of 1870 must inevitably carry in it *the seeds of a war between Germany and Russia*, just as the war of 1866 carried in it the seeds of 1870 . . . If they (the Germans) take Alsace and Lorraine, France and Russia will wage war against Germany. It is superfluous to indicate the disastrous results."[91]

Marx's suggestions had hardly arrived in Germany when they took on actuality from the events that followed in quick succession. On September 2, Napoleon III had to surrender in the fortress of Sedan with almost 100,000 men. Forty-eight hours later the republic was called into existence in Paris. The barrier to German unification, the expansionist and great power politics of Napoleon III, was thus set aside.

But the Prussian king, who had vehemently declared that the war was one of defence, not directed against the French people, but only against Napoleon, now had the German army march deeper into France in order to tear away Alsace and Lorraine and to force the complete subjugation of France. The war thus took a drastic turn and fundamentally altered its character.

Marx immediately discussed the new situation in the General Council. He was again authorized to draft a public statement to give the international workers' movement a direction and aims. Three days later he submitted the second Address on the German-French war to the Council. Engels had drafted the passages dealing with the military side. The Address was unanimously adopted and sent to all the London newspapers. Almost all of these buried it with silence. The Council therefore put out the Address as a pamphlet in English. Translated by

Marx, it appeared in the following weeks in German and Swiss workers' papers, and also in French, in October, in Belgium and France.

In this second Address, Marx aimed his main fire against the shameful plans of conquest of the Prussian militarists and the German *nouveau riche*, the big bourgeoisie. With forceful logic he reiterated that the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine carried in it the seeds of a world war, a war of Russia, allied to France, against Germany. This prophecy was completely confirmed decades later.

Marx called upon the German working class to do everything in its power to prevent the annexation and to achieve an honourable peace with the French bourgeois republic. But he also saw the difficulties : " If the French workmen amidst peace failed to stop the aggressor are the German workmen more likely to stop the victor amidst the clangour of arms ? . . . However that may be, history will prove that the German workers are not made of the same malleable stuff as the German middle class. They will do their duty."[92]

They did do their duty. The Braunschweig Committee issued a manifesto, with long passages from Marx's letter, calling upon the German workers to resist the war of conquest and the chauvinist propaganda of hate against the French. The Braunschweig manifesto was circulated in 10,000 copies in the party, and was also published in the central organ, *Der Volksstaat*. Party members organized meetings in numerous centres against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and for an honourable peace with the French republic.

The ruling classes responded in their own way. They arrested Bracke and his comrades and dragged them in chains like criminals to an East Prussian fortress. Further arrests followed in Hamburg, Halberstadt and other areas. Despite these persecutions and the fact that they already had to work in semi-legality, Bebel and Liebknecht spoke up fearlessly in public meetings, and at the end of November also in the North German *Reichstag*,

against Bismarck's predatory policy, hostile to the people, and against the military dictatorship lying heavily on Germany.

Not in the least intimidated by the raging pack of bourgeois and *Junker* deputies, they expressed their solidarity with the French people. When they returned from the *Reichstag* sitting to Leipzig, they were arrested by soldiers armed to the teeth as if for battle.

In the face of the personal suffering that such arbitrary acts of the Prussian military state brought to many German workers' families, Marx did everything he could to help them. He organized money collections to lighten the material difficulties of the relatives of those in prison. He wrote warm letters of encouragement to the wives of those arrested. In contributions to the English press he denounced Bismarck's terror against the revolutionary workers' movement and against the other democratic forces in Germany. He expressed deep disgust with the base policy of the Prussian *Junkers* and the big German capitalists, now marching arm in arm and unscrupulously dragging the people along the road to reaction and war. But even greater was his pride in the manly bearing of the German working class and its revolutionary party. With their courageous stand against the policy of conquest of Prussian-German militarism and its roll as gendarme, the workers and their party had saved the honour of the German nation. Only a few months after its founding, the party already showed itself as the loyal defender of the German people.

Marx gave his fullest support to the German workers who, he wrote, with their truly patriotic and internationalist attitude " at one bound " placed themselves " at the head of the European workers' movement."[93] But he did not, at the same time, neglect the leadership of the whole International. Immediately after the setting up of the French Republic on September 4, he set in motion an international campaign of workers' organizations for the diplomatic recognition of the French republic by the great powers of Europe and the USA. This, he saw, could become an

important measure of defence against the Prussian-German conquerors, who in the autumn of 1870 set forth their war against the French people with the greatest brutality.

" If they forsake their duty, if they remain passive, the present tremendous war will be but the harbinger of still deadlier international feuds and lead in every nation to a renewed triumph over the workman by the lords of the sword, of the soil and of capital."[94] With these words Marx concluded the second Address of the General Council and thereby reminded the international working class that the struggle for peace was inseparably intertwined with the struggle for socialism.

Now, with his comrades on the General Council, he began to organize a campaign of solidarity with the young French Republic among the English workers. On September 10 he wrote to Engels : " I have set everything in motion for the workers to force their government to recognize the French Republic (the series of meetings will open on Monday)."[95] He devoted himself to this campaign till the end of October.

He advised the French workers to have nothing to do with the adventurist plans of the Bakuninists and other putschists, and not to attempt an insurrection in a situation where " the enemy is almost knocking at the doors of Paris."[96] It was rather the task of the French workers, calmly and determinedly to utilize the republican freedoms now granted them to organize their class, and especially a revolutionary party, as the most worthwhile preparations for the future liberation of the proletariat.

In the war months of 1870—71 an enormous political responsibility rested on Marx's shoulders. At the same time he was plagued once more by painful illnesses and family anxieties. His daughter Laura, who had married Paul Lafargue in 1868, was living with her husband and a child near Paris. Marx and Jenny had been uneasy about her for a long time.

But there was also something to celebrate : the almost 20 years of physical separation between Marx and his best friend now

came to an end. In 1869 Engels had been able to give up his position in Manchester and finally moved to London in mid-September 1870. Karl and Jenny had for weeks searched for a suitable dwelling for him. At last they found it—a comfortable and friendly little house in the neighbourhood, barely 10 minutes from Marx's flat. Engels had been able, in leaving the firm of Ermen and Engels, to arrange for sufficient financial means to guarantee economic security for himself and the Marx family from then on. For the first time in decades, Marx was at last relieved of financial worry. Now 52, his health had been undermined by unceasing want, but he still felt he had the power, together with Engels, his *Intimus*, to accomplish great things.

Engels now came to the Marx home almost daily. Where they had formerly had to settle most questions by mail, now they had discussions lasting for hours in Marx's workroom or on long walks in the neighbourhood.

At Marx's suggestion, Engels was taken on to the General Council of the International immediately after his move to London. His knowledge, his political sagacity, and not least his unusual command of languages quickly made him indispensable. He was at first made Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, and then for Spain, Italy, Portugal and Denmark. Freed from the "Egyptian bondage"[97] of his counting-table, as he wrote his mother, he felt himself to be "a completely different fellow and ten years younger."[98] It was the same for Marx, now that he once again had his friend daily at his side.

Chapter VI

1871–1883

On the Side of "the Stormers of Heaven"

At the end of January 1871, after months of siege, Paris had to capitulate. On January 18, in Versailles, on French territory, the Prussian King Wilhelm I was proclaimed Kaiser of Germany, and the German Reich was founded. With this act the unification of Germany was completed ; but it was consummated under the hegemony of Prussia and thus strengthened the position of Prussian militarism in a catastrophic manner.

A few weeks later Bismarck dictated his " peace " conditions to the negotiators of the big bourgeois government of France. These conditions levied enormous war payments on France and robbed it of Alsace and Lorraine. In order to force payment of the five thousand million francs extorted by Bismarck, German troops continued to occupy large areas of the country.

Marx followed these developments carefully, filled with pain and disgust that his fatherland had found " its *unification* first in a *Prussian barracks*."[1] But he was confident that in the courageous, patriotic and internationalist behaviour of the German workers could be discerned the force which would one day end all the " royal splendour " of the Middle Ages and all the criminal chauvinism.

Now suddenly a development took place that electrified friend and foe alike. On March 18, 1871, the red flag of the workers flew over the City Hall of Paris.

What had happened ?

The workers of the French capital, standing in the front line against the Prussian-German conquerors, had secured the right to keep their arms even after the capitulation. Arms in the hands of the workers !—that was unendurable for the French bourgeois government of Prime Minister Thiers. On the night of March 18 the government ordered its troops to disarm the Paris workers. The attempt failed. The workers and their wives defended their weapons together. Many of the soldiers sent by the government fraternized with the workers and artisans. Two of the generals who ordered their troops to open fire on defenceless women and children were arrested and shot by their own soldiers.

Events now followed in quick succession. Thiers, horrified, withdrew his troops from the capital and fled to Versailles with his government. The people of Paris, led by the revolutionary workers, took the administration into their own hands. A general election was called. On March 26, the Council of the Commune was elected as the highest organ of power. Two days later, in a festive demonstration before the City Hall, the Commune was officially proclaimed. The workers had seized power for the first time in history.

The thundering cry, " Long live the Commune !" made not only the French bourgeoisie quake and quail. Among the propertied classes in many lands, confusion and then hate

spread against this bold attempt of the workers to take their fate into their own hands.

In September 1870, after the proclamation of the Republic, Marx had warned the French workers against every premature action. He had feared that the French working class, in the event of an insurrection, would not only have the troops of their own bourgeoisie against them, but also the troops of the Prussian *Junkers*.

But now he placed himself without a moment's hesitation on the side of the Communards. He was a firm opponent of every kind of playing at revolution and had always unequivocally combated " leaders " who thought they could make " revolutions " with a wave of the hand. But when the masses rose up in struggle, he did not hesitate, but was immediately on their side. He vigorously contradicted all those who claimed that one should support the struggle that had now begun only if all the preconditions for victory were present. To such people he declared : " World history would indeed be very easy to make if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favourable chances."[2]

Marx paid close attention to the development of the Commune, the conduct of the Paris population and that of its leaders. He learned that the Council of the Commune, immediately following its election, had replaced the reactionary standing army by the general arming of the people, abolished the old bureaucracy of officials and judges, and had begun to introduce equal political and social rights for women and numerous other socio-economic measures that improved the living conditions of the working population. Marx heard that the Council of the Commune had passed decrees on the protection of labour, the abolition of rent, job placement, and had turned over to workers' co-operatives all factories deserted or closed by their owners. What fascinated him more than anything else, however, was the fact that the Council of the Commune gave thousands of workers responsible functions. These new deputies

and state officials were elected and could, in turn, be dismissed. They not only discussed and adopted laws, but also carried them out themselves. The transformation of the people's representatives into the genuinely highest bearers of power—that was an unprecedently new phenomenon that the Paris proletariat tested, under the pressure of having to guarantee its security. In Paris, revolutionary practice produced the answer to the decisive question raised but not yet answered in the *Communist Manifesto* and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* : What does the new state, what does the dictatorship of the proletariat look like, the state and dictatorship with which the working class guarantees and strengthens its power ?

The great events in the French capital kept Marx in a state of feverish tension. Filled with enthusiasm and pride over the achievements of the working class, he wrote to his friend, Ludwig Kugelmann : " What elasticity, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians ! After six months of hunger and ruin caused by internal treachery more even than by the external enemy they rise, beneath Prussian bayonets, as if there had never been a war between France and Germany and the enemy were not still at the gates of Paris ! History has no like example of like greatness !"[3] And again a few days later : " With the struggle in Paris the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and its state has entered upon a new phase. Whatever the immediate outcome may be, a new point of departure of world-wide importance has been gained."[4]

Marx met constantly now with Engels. He discussed the events in Paris with him, consulted with him about the suggestions that he sent to members of the Council of the Commune through roundabout means, and also divided up the work with him in the General Council.

As in other countries, the International had in France also fostered the consciousness of the community of interests of all the workers and had spread the doctrine that the emancipation

of the workers could only be the work of the workers themselves. But at the same time Marx knew better than anyone else that it was not the International that had " made " the Commune. On the Council of the Commune the members of the International, including convinced followers of Marx, were only a dwindling minority as against the Blanquists and Proudhonists. But soon the International followers showed themselves to be among the bravest and keenest and fought more energetically than all the others for deep-going democratic and social measures.

Marx foresaw that the press of the exploiting classes, regardless of differences of nationality, would unite in spreading the most shameless slanders, lies and horror tales to revile the workers of Paris. The International would therefore have to do everything to bring the truth about the heroic struggle of the Paris proletariat to the workers of the whole world and mobilize powerful support for the Parisian " stormers of heaven."[5] Since Paris was surrounded partly by the troops of the Thiers government, which had fled to Versailles, and partly by the Prussian-German army, trustworthy news reached Marx only in driblets. He therefore combed the newspapers feverishly and compared their reports, in order to be able to sift out the facts from the flood of lies and to piece together a correct picture of the developments in the French capital. In the end he was successful in establishing direct contact with the section of the International in Paris through a German businessman, who is thought to have been named N. Eilau. In this manner, he was able to receive a series of authentic reports from Paris, and above all, to send advice himself to his comrades-in-arms there.

In these weeks Marx wrote hundreds of letters to his friends and to the members of the International in numerous countries, informing them about the events in Paris and the international significance of the Commune. He called upon the English, German, Austrian, American workers, and the workers of other lands, to organize sympathy meetings and solidarity actions with their Parisian class brothers. The most advanced sections of the

international proletariat understood that their own emancipation was being fought for in Paris. From the newspapers of the Social Democratic parties, as well as in letters, Marx learned that in Germany also—despite the witchhunts and terror of the ruling classes—meetings were taking place in various localities at which the workers greeted the Commune and declared their solidarity with it. The Prussian-German *Junkers* and militarists, who were to show themselves as accomplices of the French bourgeoisie in the massacre of the Parisian freedom fighters, were denounced by August Bebel in the *Reichstag* in the name of the German working class : " *Meine Herren* . . . Learn for yourselves that the entire proletariat of Europe, and all those who still carry in their breasts a feeling for freedom and independence, are looking towards Paris . . . If, for the moment, Paris is subjugated, then I remind you that the struggle in Paris is only a preliminary skirmish, that the main struggle still lies ahead of us in Europe, and before many decades go by, the battle-cry of the Parisian proletariat, ' War against the palace, peace for the huts of the poor, an end to poverty and parasites ! '—will become the battle-cry of the entire European working class."[6]

Marx and Engels were thrilled. " The German workers," Engels declared, " have conducted themselves famously in this last great crisis, better than all others. Bebel has represented them in a great manner. His speech about the Commune was published by the entire English press and created a great impression."[7]

The demonstration of solidarity of the international working class was testimony for Marx of the successful work of the International. But from mid-April on reports arrived from Paris that caused him grave concern.

Hunger was rampant in the city. The Versailles government had cast aside all national dignity to beg for the release of tens of thousands of French prisoners-of-war—in order to put them in the field against the *Communards*. The Council of the Com-

mune had with amazing energy created a revolutionary army of some tens of thousands within a period of only a few weeks. But instead of taking the offensive and bringing confusion to the enemy, it limited itself to the defence of the city. For a long period the *Communards* answered the terror of the counter-revolution with appeals for humaneness, and left the treasury of the Bank of France, which was in its hands, practically untouched. These half measures were a result of the Blanquist and Proudhonist views which dominated in the Council of the Commune. They were also an expression of lack of experience in armed, revolutionary struggle.

Despite these shortcomings, the *Communards* fought with unexampled bravery when Thiers sent his troops against the revolutionary city. The revolutionaries of other lands fought shoulder to shoulder with the Parisian workers and artisans, the small dealers and numerous intellectuals and students. The foreign revolutionaries included the Poles, Jaroslaw Dombrowski and Walery Wroblewski ; the Hungarian, Leo Frankel ; and even revolutionary women like J. L. Tomanovskaya, who went under the pseudonym of Dmitriyeva. Some of them, like Wroblewski and Frankel, were given leading positions by the *Communards*, who thereby again showed their true internationalism.

The struggle raged for weeks on the outskirts of the city and at last in its streets. Every district, every street, every house was heroically defended by the *Communards*. Side by side with their husbands, brothers and fathers many women also fought bravely, including the courageous teacher, Louise Michel.

Marx was deeply affected by the reports of the advance of the counter-revolutionary Versailles troops and the inhuman acts of vengeance against the *Communards*. He fell ill. His eldest daughter Jenny wrote to friends in Germany : " The present state of things caused our dear Mohr much suffering and is undoubtedly one of the main reasons for his illness. A great

many of our friends are in the Commune. Some of them have already fallen victim to the butchers of Versailles."[8]

The anxieties of the family were increased by the fact that they were uncertain about the fate of Paul Lafargue. After he had moved back to France in 1868 with his young wife Laura, Lafargue had lived and worked mostly in Paris, but after the advance of the Prussian troops in September in 1870 had gone to Bordeaux. In April 1871 he hastened back to Paris to take up contact with the *Communards* and had there been given the task of organizing solidarity actions in southern France for the Commune. From then on nothing had been heard of him.

In the above-mentioned letter, Jenny revealed the thoughts and feelings that dominated the Marx family in these words : " I can't bear it, to sit quietly, while the bravest and best are massacred on the orders of the wild clown Thiers, who despite his hordes of trained murderers could never conquer the inexperienced citizens of Paris without the help of his Prussian allies, who seem to be proud of their role as police."[9]

The reports from Paris grew worse. At the end of May the last *Communards* were defeated by the overpowering numerical superiority of the Versailles troops. Paris ran red with the blood of the workers. When rifles were found to be inadequate as instruments of murder, the captured *Communards* were driven together and machine-gunned by the hundreds. Thirty thousand *Communards* killed, sixty thousand thrown into jail, or sent into forced labour in the penal colonies, which meant certain death—that was the balance sheet of the May weeks in Paris, a counter-revolutionary terror bloodier than anything previously seen.

Despite the flood of base slanders and brutal threats, despite arrests and prison sentences, the class-conscious workers all over the world remained loyal to the Commune even in the hour of its defeat. But no one defended the *Communards* so passionately, so boldly as Marx. He provided a shining example of how a

revolutionary conducts himself in the days when his class suffers defeat, just as he had conducted himself after the June uprising in Paris in 1848 and after the revolution of 1848—49. After the defeat of the Commune, when world reaction united against the Paris workers, Marx made himself the defender of the Commune. With complete devotion he took up the cause of those who had suffered defeat as his own.

He became the leading figure in a Refugee Committee set up in London to aid the flight from France of those *Communards* who had eluded the murderers. He was tireless in the work. He rescued a number of the best representatives of the proletariat from court-martials and arranged for them to get passports, money and work. Many found in his home their first haven, and for weeks French refugees went in and out and enjoyed his hospitality. The enormously increased household expenses naturally made impossible problems for Jenny, since Marx, completely engulfed in the work of the International, had no income whatsoever other than Engels' financial support. She often had to get help from friends, but nothing could keep her from caring for the revolutionary French refugees with all her available strength and means. During these weeks they were also reminded of their own need when Marx and the family had had to emigrate after the revolution of 1848 and they had arrived penniless in London.

One of the brave *Communards* who could be rescued and brought to London in the summer of 1871 was Eugène Pottier. He carried with him a poem born in illegal work and put on paper during his flight. In his verses blazed the fire of the Paris revolution which, though defeated, had became a beacon for the international workers' movement. Years later Pottier's verses, already translated into many languages, were to become a hymn of the international proletariat fighting in the spirit of Marx and Engels, a stirring call to the oppressed and exploited of all lands and races :

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation.
Arise, ye wretched of the earth.
For justice thunders condemnation—
A better world's in birth.

No more tradition's chains shall bind us—
Arise ye slaves, no more in thrall.
The earth shall rise on new foundations.
You have been naught, you shall be all.

'This the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place.
The Internationale
Shall be the human race.'[10]

Marx did not merely save the lives of individual *Communards* ; he saved the legacy of the *Communards* by putting the lessons of their struggle at the service of the international workers' movement. At the end of April he was authorized by the General Council to prepare an Address on the Commune. He worked on it even on his sickbed. He drew up two drafts, then set about casting it into its final form. On May 30, two days after the last barricades had fallen in Paris, he read the Address on *The Civil War in France* to the members of the General Council. It was unanimously endorsed and was immediately published in English. *Der Volksstaat,* the central organ of the Social Democratic Workers' Party, published it in German in instalments beginning at the end of June. Shortly thereafter it appeared in German and French as a pamphlet, then in Russian, Italian, Spanish and Dutch.

Marx did not satisfy himself merely with giving a truthful chronicle of the developments and with refuting the slanders heaped on the *Communards.* For him the basic question was the nature and essence of the Paris Commune. During the revolution of 1848 he had already come to the conclusion that the proletariat, after the conquest of power, could not simply take over the old bourgeois state apparatus but would have to

replace it with its own state apparatus, created by itself. The Paris Commune confirmed these theoretical prophecies for the first time in practice.

But more than that. The experiences of the Commune and the deep-going analysis of its political and social measures made it possible for Marx to recognize in the direct exercise of power by the people the decisively new and characteristic feature of the future proletarian state. The power to elect and remove all people's representatives, the transformation of parliament into a true tribune of the popular masses, the fusion of the power to make laws with the power to carry them out—Marx saw these as the decisive aspects of the new proletarian state. Although the *Communards*—isolated, besieged and without a revolutionary class party—were able to take only the first steps on the road to this type of state, Marx recognized in these first stages the essential features of the proletarian state : the dictatorship of the proletariat. He wrote about the Commune : " It was essentially *a working-class government*, the produce of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of labour."[11] These experiences and conclusions were extraordinarily important for the theoretical clarification of the road the working class must take to political power.

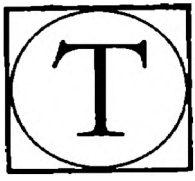
Marx showed the international proletariat there were still more lessons to be learned from the Commune. The struggle in Paris had shown, for example, that the working class must establish close ties with other sections of the people who work for a living, especially with the working peasants, if it is to win the victory and to make it secure against the overthrown bourgeoisie. Marx especially emphasized the experience of the Commune that the emancipation of the working people from exploitation and oppression was not possible without a revolutionary party acting on the basis of a scientific program. Such a party was missing in 1871 in France.

Above all, neither the objective nor the subjective conditions for a victorious proletarian revolution were present at the time—or for that matter, throughout the 19th century. The development of the means of production had not yet attained the stage at which their takeover as social property was possible or absolutely imperative historically. The French proletariat had not yet been able to create a revolutionary class party equipped with a scientific strategy and tactic for the struggle for power. Because these two pre-conditions were absent, the Paris Commune had to remain a heroic attempt to set up the class rule of the proletariat.

In his Address, *The Civil War in France,* Marx showed again his towering capacity to find his way through a maze of individual facts to the very heart of an historical development and to unravel the essence of historical procresses from various developing tendencies. Like practically all of Marx's works, *The Civil War in France* was also a polemic, born in the class struggle of the international proletariat against the enemies of the Commune. With this work, in which he recorded the theoretical and political legacy of the *Communards,* he left a permanament monument to the " heaven-stormers of Paris."

" Paris of the workers, with its Commune, will be eternally celebrated as the honourable forerunner of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. History has already nailed its assassins to the whipping-post from which all the prayers of their priests will be unable to release them."[12] With this unreserved testimonial to the Commune Marx concluded his Address to the General Council.

Victor Over the Enemies of the International



he Civil War in France stirred up enormous interest. On the one hand, it gave the revolutionary workers courage and self-confidence ; on the other hand, the reactionaries of every hue swooped like birds of prey on this declaration of the International's solidarity with the Paris *Communards*. But two members of the General Council who had for some time been coquetting with the English bourgeoisie, the trade union leaders Odger and Lucraft, opposed the Address and in cowardly fashion left the International because of its open support for the Commune.

Marx had been constantly subjected to attacks by his political opponents because of his unbending revolutionary viewpoint. But never had he been so basely exposed to hostility and slander

in the English press as after the publication of his General Council Address about the Commune. This deep hatred was linked to fear of "the grand chief of the International," as he was often called in police reports.

Marx had not hesitated in making a public declaration in the press that he was the author of the General Council's Address. He took upon himself full personal responsibility for the accusations he had made against the members of the Versailles government and challenged them to take proceedings against him for slander. But the murderers of the *Communards* drew back from having their criminal conduct bared even before the class-oriented courts of the bourgeoisie.

Its solidarity with the Commune at one stroke made the International the centre of public interest. Just as at the time of the persecution of communists after the revolution of 1848—49, so now too all the reactionary powers united in a witchhunt against the revolutionary workers' movement. There was hardly a government in Europe that did not occupy itself mightily with the problem of how to destroy the International and to silence its supporters. The French government promulgated a decree according to which even membership in the International was to be treated as a criminal offence. Bismarck negotiated with the czar and the Vienna government on a joint assault on the International. At the same time he had the leaders of the German working class, Bebel and Liebknecht, sentenced to two years in prison on charges of high treason. In Spain, the International was banned. In the Vatican, the Pope declared that those who gave refuge to members of the International were thereby aiding the servants of the devil.

In London, an army of police spies kept every member of the General Council under close surveillance. When Marx holidayed at the seaside for a few days in August 1871, to recover from the wear and tear of the preceding months, he was followed about by a police agent on his promenades. He reported to his wife on how he gave this snooper the grand brush off :

" Yesterday the thing got to be a bore. I stopped, turned about and fixed a look on the fellow through the notorious eyeglass. What did he do ? He removed his hat very humbly and has today no longer favoured me by following me about."[13]

It was not always so simple. In the same summer of 1871, when Marx's daughter Jenny and the 16-year-old Eleanor visited their sister Laura in southern France, they were arrested like dangerous criminals, were forced to strip and submit to search in that state, and thrown into a gendarmes' barracks. Police and justice department officials attempted to wring information from the two as to the whereabouts of their brother-in-law, Paul Lafargue who, after the defeat of the *Communards*, had been able to hide from the police for a while near the French-Spanish border. Then, as the danger of arrest threatened, he had fled to Spain on a Spanish passport. The guardians of public order endeavoured to persuade Jenny and Eleanor to lure Lafargue and his wife—who had now followed him—back to France and into the hands of the police. They naturally had no success. Jenny and Eleanor had to be released and returned to their parents.

It was merely a statement of fact when Marx remarked in a letter that he had the honour to be " at this moment the best calumniated and the most menaced man of London." He added : " That really does one good after the boring 20-year long swamp idyll. The government sheet—*The Observer*—threatens me with legal prosecution. Let them dare ! I laugh at these *canailles*."[14]

Marx was hardly the man to be silenced by threats, even when the attacks fell on him like hail. The heart of the leader of the International, now in the sixth decade, still beat as strongly for the revolution as when he was the 30-year-old editor-in-chief of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. In the meantime his hair had turned white, but he still remained loyal to his view of human happiness : " to keep fighting "[15], as he had once put it to his daughters.

It was necessary now to keep fighting not only against the terror of governments, the incitement of the bourgeois press, and the capitulationists in the International Workingmen's Association who had abjectly dissociated themselves from the Paris Commune. It was also necessary to take up the battle against those who wanted to destroy the International from within. Bakunin and his followers considered that the moment was opportune for them to take over the International, to banish scientific communism from the workers' movement and to force their anarchist ideas on the international working class. In this dangerous situation, Marx very effectively defended the International against their destructive activities.

The Bakuninists attempted to interpret the heroic struggle of the *Communards* in terms of their anarchistic aims, though the experiences of the Commune in fact refuted anarchism.

The Bakuninists claimed that the working class must repudiate every state in principle and must combat the creation of a proletarian state as well. This pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering was contradicted by the fact that it was precisely in the Commune that the proletarian state had found its realization in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarian state had proved itself to be the most important instrument for the protection and development of the achievements of the proletarian revolution.

The Bakuninists also rejected the organizational unification of the proletariat in political parties and opposed the participation of the workers in political struggle. Here too the experiences of the Commune showed the foolishness of the anarchistic viewpoint. One of the most important reasons for the defeat of the *Communards* was the fact that the Paris workers had not been led by a revolutionary class party. For that reason there had been no completely unified leadership of the revolutionary movement, the alliance with the working peasants had been neglected, and the counter-revolution had not been combated with the necessary decisiveness in the first weeks

of the Commune. In the meetings of the General Council, and in his correspondence, Marx unerringly evaluated these weaknesses as an expression of the stage of development of the proletarian struggle for emancipation. The *Communards* had to pay for their temporizing and their mistakes with their blood. It was therefore all the more necessary to analyze these bitter experiences and to recognize that the working class cannot achieve socialism through spontaneous actions, and that social progress is indissolubly bound up with the development of the revolutionary party as the leader of the social movement.

In the International a vehement fight flared up now concerning the lessons of the Commune for the further development of the international workers' movement. The weekly meetings of the General Council had never been so stormy as during the discussions about the position of the working class on the dictatorship of the proletariat. A number of hotheads and adventurers, for example, demanded that the International issue a call for new revolutionary uprisings. To these Marx calmly replied that first one had to *prepare* the proletariat for the revolution. He dealt patiently with all arguments, no matter how confused they might be, and refuted false conclusions. He was adamant, however, when he felt that the conduct of some " leaders " was based, not on insufficient understanding or theoretical unclarity, but on personal conceit and lust for power, and that they were in reality playing a frivolous game with the working class. That was precisely the situation with many anarchists.

The Bakuninists announced their rejection " of every activity that did not have as its immediate and direct aim the triumph of the cause of the workers against capital."[16] In weeks of discussion, Marx succeeded, with the support of Engels, in convincing almost all of the members of the General Council and the most important sections of the International that there was nothing else behind the revolutionary phrases of the Bakuninists than the rejection of every organized political struggle and every revolutionary party of the proletariat.

Marx achieved a significant victory in these controversies in September 1871. The General Council had organized a conference in London with delegates of various organizations affiliated to the International. For days there were fiery debates, in which Marx and Engels repeatedly dealt with the experiences of the Paris Commune. All the draft resolutions presented by the General Council had been worked out by Marx. Many of these contained rulings on organizational questions and proposed new methods of struggle to the various sections of the International to suit the situation which had been made enormously complicated as a result of the counter-revolutionary campaign of persecution. At Marx's suggestion, the conference proposed that separate organizations of working women be set up inside the International wherever that could be useful.

The resolution with the widest implications approved by the delegates was one, again put forward by Marx, that pointed to the unbridled activity of reaction against the working class, which made it clear that "the working class can only act as a class against the combined power of the propertied classes by constituting itself as a separate political party in opposition to all the old parties of the propertied classes."

The resolution stated further "that the constituting of the working class as a political party is essential for the triumph of the social revolution and its ultimate goal—*the abolition of all classes.*"[17]

This decision of the London conference was a clear victory for the viewpoint represented by Marx. But Marx did not delude himself into thinking that the Bakuninists had given up. The Bakuninists did not feel they were a match for Marx in a direct confrontation on the principles of the class struggle, especially since the experiences of the International, those of the German and French workers' movements, in the first place, contradicted the anarchists' sectarian and adventurist tactics too visibly. For that reason the anarchists resorted more frequently to slander and intrigue. They protested loudly against the

decisions of the London conference and accused the General Council of arbitrary leadership. They did not draw back from appeals to nationalist sentiments, with insinuations aimed at Marx and Engels, talking of " a dictatorship of the Germans," and presenting the controversy between Marx and Bakunin as an antagonism between races.

Marx, however, showed that the Bakuninists did not oppose the International merely on individual points, but set themselves against its general political line as adopted collectively and as expressed in the Inaugural Address, its statutes and the decisions of its congresses. They wanted to replace the scientific analysis of the concrete conditions of the class struggle with their subjective wishes, and to substitute putschist ideas for the organized mass movement.

The Bakuninists replied to these factual statements by heaping the worst insults on Marx and Engels. They attacked the International in leaflets and on placards as an anti-revolutionary organization and brought the polemic before the international public. At the same time, they stepped up their efforts to take over the leadership of the International. Some of Bakunin's followers did not hesitate to commit crimes, even against members of the International—" in the name of the revolution." In the interests of the revolution, they contended, all means were allowed. Bakunin himself said about the anarchist " revolutionary : " " He knows only one science—destruction."[18] According to this view, the worse it went for the people, the better for the revolution.

It was Marx's firm view that the fight against the Bakuninists would decide the life or death of the International. He therefore worked tirelessly to gather together the best forces in the organization to resist the anarchists.

In this he won the support of new comrades-in-arms along with tried and tested members of the General Council. Cordial friendship and warmhearted mutual affection bound him to the Polish revolutionary, Walery Wroblewski. The legendary general of the Commune had come to London wounded and sick.

When he had recovered—thanks in great measure to Marx's care—he began to work in the International as a revolutionary democrat who had developed into a proletarian revolutionary. In the autumn of 1871 he replaced the type-setter, Antoni Zabicki, on the latter's death, as corresponding secretary for Poland. At the same time, the General Council was joined by Jozef Rozwadowski, the Pole who had been chief of staff of the Commune. Leo Frankel, who had also eluded Thiers' police agents, worked as secretary for Austro-Hungary, and Alfred Herman, a sculptor, looked after the correspondence with the Belgian section. Other refugees of the Commune, including the journalist Charles Longuet, the engraver Albert-Frédéric-Jules Theisz and the doctor, Edouard Vaillant, were taken onto the General Council on Marx's proposal. Matured by their experiences in the revolutionary class struggle, they fought alongside Marx and Engels against the anarchistic adventurers.

In numerous letters to comrades all over the world, Marx urged that the international revolutionary workers' movement thwart the mischievous activity of the Bakuninists and defend the workers' unity. In the spring of 1872, together with Engels, he assisted his son-in-law, Paul Lafargue, in drafting a confidential circular that was sent to all national organizations of the International by the General Council. The intrigues of the Bakuninists were exposed in it, and their disintegrating activities frankly criticized. The document denounced Bakunin and his followers as traitors to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. But their influence, especially in Italy, Spain, Belgium and Switzerland was not yet broken.

In this period of controversies with anarchism and sectarianism, Marx did not make the slightest concession to reformism, which was especially supported by the English trade union leaders. Almost all of these union leaders, under the pressure of the English bourgeoisie, and frightened by the armed struggles in Paris, moved closer to the liberals. They cultivated and

spread the illusion that the proletariat could only advance to socialism along the road of democratic and social reforms, and became increasingly opposed to the viewpoint of the General Council.

Marx naturally supported reforms. But he and Engels constantly emphasized that the working class must link the struggle for partial aims with the struggle for the final aim, socialism. They saw in reforms, not only a welcome improvement in living conditions, but also an improvement in the conditions of the struggle of the proletariat and a possibility of bringing the masses to support of the revolution.

Marx never left any doubt about the fact that socialism could not be achieved without direct revolutionary struggle by the masses for the setting up of the rule of the workers and farmers. On the other hand, however, he and Engels never ruled out the possibility of carrying through the socialist revolution with peaceful means. In the face of the wildly bigoted cry of the Bakuninists that only the merciless destruction of the old world could create the basis for the future society, Marx declared : " Our aims must be so broad that they include all effective forms of activity of the working class. Had we given them a restricted character, we would have had to adapt them to only one section, to the working class of only one nation. But how could one have induced everyone to unite for the interests of a few ? Had our Association done that, then it would no longer have the right to call itself the International. The Association does not dictate any exclusive form of political movement ; it only demands that the given movement work for one and the same final goal . . . There are special aspects to the problem in every part of the world. The workers pay heed to these and tackle their solution in their own way. The joining together of the workers cannot be absolutely identical, down to the last detail, in Newcastle and Barcelona, in London and Berlin . . . An uprising would be stupid where peaceful agitation would achieve the goal more quickly and more efficiently. In France, the

multitude of oppressive laws and the deadly antagonism between the classes seem to make a violent solution of the social struggles necessary. If such a solution is chosen, that is a matter for the working class in that country. The International does not take it upon itself to dictate or hand out advice on this question. But it expresses its sympathy for every movement and extends its help within the framework of its own rules."[19]

Marx and Engels fought the view that the proletarian revolution could be realized only through armed force. They opposed with equal determination, however, those who wanted to orientate the working class exclusively on the peaceful road to socialism. Marx demanded of every workers' leader that he understand both possibilites in the revolutionary battle and prepare the proletariat for all forms of the class struggle. As he had declared at the London conference of 1871 : " We must say to the governments : we know that you are armed powers directed against the proletarians. We will proceed against you with peaceful means, where that is possible, and with arms, if that should become necessary."[20]

The final version of the political program of the International and the decisive settling of accounts with the Bakuninists came at the congress of the International at The Hague in September 1872. Marx had been busy with the preparation of the congress since the beginning of the year. He worked energetically to have the representatives of all the most advanced organizations of the international movement also present at the congress, regardless of all the difficulties involved. These included, above all, the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Germany, and trustworthy comrades like Johann Philipp Becker, Ludwig Kugelmann, and Friedrich Adolph Sorge, who was working with success in New York. Marx believed the expected dispute with Bakuninism would be so important and so pregnant with consequences that he decided to take part personally in the congress. The Leipzig and Mainz sections, and a section in New York consisting mostly of German workers, had given him their

delegate's mandate. On September 1, with Engels, his wife and his daughter Eleanor, he arrived at The Hague.

His appearance stirred great interest among the congress delegates. He was also the leading personality in the bourgeois press, and not least in the reports of police agents who had been sent to Holland to keep watch on the congress.

Bakunin, who had once tried to cut down Marx at a congress of the International, now remained away. His followers, however, tried to defend his viewpoint all the more zealously. Their efforts were doomed to failure. It became evident quickly that the overwhelming majority of the 65 congress delegates supported Marx and the General Council. That was already clear with the checking of the delegates' credentials, when Marx won support for a proposal that only those delegates be accredited who recognized the principles of the International. The attempt of the Bakuninists to work up a majority through factions and splinter groups failed. Most of the delegates were determined to defend their revolutionary unity.

On September 5, at a public session, Marx delivered the report of the General Council which he had prepared. The hall, in a workers' district of The Hague, was filled to overflowing. The meeting took place in the evening, to allow the greatest possible number of workers to attend. Marx denounced the acts of violence of the governments of France, Germany and other countries against the International and flayed the bourgeois press for its low slanders of the Association. In his report, he lauded the courageous internationalist attitude of the French and German workers during the war. One of the greatest successes of the International Workingmen's Association, he said, was the fact that the Paris Commune was "immediately greeted by the cry of jubilation of the workers of all lands."[21] With great satisfaction he informed the delegates of the progress of the International in Holland, Denmark, Portugal and Ireland, in the United States, Australia, New Zealand and Argentina.

On September 6, the decision of the London Conference on

"The Political Effectiveness of the Working Class" and on changes in the statutes stood on the agenda. Marx was not a man of brilliant rhetoric, but his penetratingly logical arguments, based on the practical experiences of the workers' movement, brought a large majority of the congress delegates to recognize the necessity of the political struggle and the founding of proletarian parties as the most important pre-conditions for a successful socialist revolution. The rules and administrative regulations of the International were also revised or expanded along the lines suggested by the General Council. The General Council was given the responsibility of seeing to it that all organizations associated with the International conformed strictly to its principles and statutes. The Council was also granted the right to expel organizations which violated the International's principles.

With these decisions, the Bakuninists were politically defeated. They were also *morally* defeated when Marx and other participants in subsequent sittings exposed their splitting activities and their underhanded activities. Bakunin was expelled from the International and from then on played no significant role in the workers' movement.

Most delegates were surprised when Engels—speaking also in Marx's name—presented a resolution to transfer the seat of the General Council to New York. Engels based his proposal on the fact that the work of the General Council had in the recent period been made exceptionally difficult in London by the splitting activities of the Bakuninists and the personal differences occasioned by them, as well as the disruptive actions of emigrant groups with petty-bourgeois tendencies. In addition, London had now been the seat of the Council for eight years, and "this should be changed one day, in order to prevent ossification." If another location had to be selected, then New York was the right place. "Our documents are safe there. We have a strong new organization there. Our party there is truly international as nowhere else in the world."[22]

There were more compelling reasons, however. One was

undoubtedly the rampaging police terror against the workers' movement that almost completely crippled the work of the International in some countries, especially in France. In addition, there was the danger in London that the reformist trade union leaders and the French Blanquist *emigrés* in the General Council could win the upper hand. That would have jeopardized everything already achieved. Obviously, the leadership of the International from New York would bring difficulties, if only for technical reasons. But Marx and Engels had already begun to recognize that with the creation and the first steps of the Social Democratic Workers' Party in Germany, and with the Paris Commune, which heralded a new epoch in the development of the workers' movement, the specific features of the movement in the various countries were now becoming ever more significant. As the decisions of the London and Hague congresses emphasized, the building and consolidation of national proletarian parties was now most important. The International had laid the foundation stone for this development by spreading Marxism in the workers' movement of the more developed countries and had played a decisive role in overcoming utopian socialist and petty-bourgeois tendencies.

The national workers' parties had to work out a revolutionary strategy and tactic that expressed the special features of their individual countries, and was based on the proletariat's over-all conceptions and political principles. That too called for new forms of international collaboration.

At the Hague conference, it required all the authority and the powers of persuasion of Marx in order to get a bare majority to move the seat of the General Council to New York. Most of the delegates who voted for the proposal did so only reluctantly, since it would mean that Marx and Engels and other leaders, tested over the years, would no longer belong to the Council. But for Marx this separation from the Council in no way meant leaving the international workers' movement. To all those who supposed he would from now on lead the life of a quiet scholar,

he publicly declared in unmistakeable terms : " For my part, I will continue my work and will constantly strive to buttress the solidarity among all the workers that is so fruitful. No, I am not withdrawing from the International, and the rest of my life, like all my endeavours in the past, will be dedicated to the triumph of the ideas of socialism, which one day—you can be sure—will lead to the world rule of the proletariat."[23]

After the Congress, Marx travelled with most of the other delegates to Amsterdam, where the local section of the International sponsored a workers' meeting on September 8. Marx, Sorge, Lafargue, Johann Philipp Becker and other delegates spoke to the assembled workers. Marx praised the results of the Hague conference, especially its declaration that " the working class " has the task " of combating the old, disintegrating society on the political as well as the social field." " The worker must one day seize power, in order to construct the new organization of labour. He must defeat the old politics that perpetuate the old institutions, if he does not want to lose paradise on earth like the old Christians, who neglected and despised it."[24]

Returning to the Hague, Marx allowed himself a few days' holiday. Together with his wife and daughter and Engels he travelled daily to Scheveningen on the ocean. The police agents followed him there too, and one of them made the following " sensational " report : Marx " took baths there and in the evenings attended the concerts on the terrace of the Grand Hotel. There he *once* dined with his wife, Lafargue and the latter's wife—the daughter of Marx who is very charming."[25]

In mid-September, Marx returned to London with his family.

In the months following the Hague congress, Marx again devoted much time and energy to the International. In New York, Friedrich Adolph Sorge was elected chairman of the General Council, and from then on turned to Marx and Engels frequently for advice and information. He gave them assignments and exchanged materials with them. Marx assisted the new General Council to the best of his ability. He worked especially

to isolate the spokesmen of reformist ideas among the English members of the International and to win support for the decisions of the Hague congress. He continued to receive and assemble information on the activities of the sections in various countries and sent them on to New York, mostly through Engels. He also acted to prevent Bakuninist groups and cliques from passing themselves off as representatives of the International.

Within one year of the Hague congress, it became increasingly clear that the old forms of leading the international workers' movement through the General Council no longer reflected the needs of the moment. Marx wrote to Sorge :

"... As I view European conditions it is quite useful to let the formal organization of the International recede into the background for the time being, but, if possible, not to relinquish control of the central point in New York so that no idiots may seize the leadership and discredit the whole business. Events and the inevitable development and complication of things will of themselves see to it that the International shall rise again improved in form. For the present it suffices not to let the connection with the most capable in the various countries slip altogether out of our hands ..."[26]

Sorge followed this advice. Three years later, in mid-1876, the delegates at a conference called in Philadelphia by the General Council disbanded the International Workingmen's Association. They addressed an appeal to the proletarians of all countries, in which they said : " We have disbanded the organization of the International for reasons that grow out of the current political situation in Europe ; but at the same time we see that the principles of organization of the progressive workers in the whole civilized world are being recognized and defended ... More suitable conditions will once again bring together the workers of all lands under a common banner of struggle, and then the cry will ring out even more powerfully : ' Workers of the world, unite ! ' "[27]

In the ranks of the International, the best representatives of

the international working class had learned the principles of scientific communism, especially the idea of proletarian internationalism, and gathered rich experiences in all vital questions of the class struggle. Therein lies the historical contribution of the International Workingmen's Association and its leaders, Marx and Engels.

Home and Family

At the end of the 1860's and the beginning of the 70's there were changes in the life of the Marx family. The girls had grown up, and since everything in the household turned about the battle for the emancipation of the proletariat, they too took part personally in the workers' movement. It pleased Marx that his eldest daughter, Jenny, now followed Laura's example by marrying an active comrade-in-arms.

Jenny was from early youth bound up with the working class struggle. From the mid-60's on she increasingly took over from her mother the secretarial work for her father and conducted some of his correspondence. She shared the hopes, the disappointments and the sufferings of the Irish freedom fighters. After the defeat of the Commune, she worked with all her

strength to raise money to lighten the need of the *Communards* driven from their homeland. It was then that she met the French journalist, Charles Longuet, who had fought in the ranks of the *Communards* as a member of the International Workingmen's Association. They were married in October 1872.

Jenny and Charles had to endure the bitter deprivations of emigrant life for many years. All his attempts to earn a living at Oxford through private tutoring failed. Soon they returned to London, penniless. Yet in December 1872 Jenny wrote gaily to Kugelmann : "I feel much happier in London than in pious, snobbish Oxford. In London there is Modena Villa, and in the front room of the first floor in Modena Villa I can at all times find my dear Mohr. I can't even tell you how lonesome I feel when I am separated from him, and he says that he also missed me very much and that he buried himself entirely in his workroom while I was away."[28] Only in 1880 did an amnesty permit the Longuet family to return to France.

Laura's husband, Paul Lafargue, revered Marx as a second father. Marx, in turn, was proud of his son-in-law, who had thrown himself into the Paris Commune struggle and had contributed significantly to the success of the Hague congress by his political activity among the Spanish workers. When Laura and Paul lost their three children, at a tender age, one after the other, at the beginning of the 70's, Marx suffered as deeply as the bereaved parents. After the Hague congress, the Lafargues moved to London. Paul gave up the practice of medicine and with great difficulty struggled along as a journalist and photographer, together with Jenny. They, too, could not return to Paris till the amnesty of 1880. Then Paul became one of the founders and most significant leaders of the Marxist party in France.

Marx constantly sought to make life easier for his children and to help with their problems. Now his greatest concern was for his grandchildren, the children of his daughter Jenny. Her eldest son Jean, or Johnny, was his favourite, and the boy knew

how to exploit this feeling. Since he lived mostly in his grandparents' home, Marx was his playing companion. He took special delight in turning Marx into a horse-drawn omnibus. Wilhelm Liebknecht, who was then visiting London, described how Johnny would climb up on Marx's shoulders as a coachman, and turn Marx and Engels into omnibus horses. "Then it began —whoa, hey !—with international German-French-English calls from the sidelines : *Go on ! Plus vite ! Hurra !* and Marx had to trot till the sweat ran down his face. And if Engels or I sometimes attempted to slow down the pace, the whip of the merciless driver whistled down upon us with cries of : You naughty horse !—*En avant* ! and so on, till Marx could go on no longer. Then there were negotiations with Johnny and a truce was arranged."[29]

After Jenny's marriage, only Eleanor remained with her parents. Though only 17, she took on the secretarial work for her father. She carried on the correspondence expertly when her father had no time to answer letters. The slim, lively girl with the strikingly thick, black hair accompanied her father on his holidays and cures and became his confidante despite her youth. She shared a boundless love with her sisters for her father, and considered it to be her greatest happiness to be of assistance to him. She was later to play a significant role in the newly awakening workers' movement in England and elsewhere.

His work in the General Council of the International, and especially during the years between the German-French war and the Hague congress, had imposed almost inhuman strains on Marx. His weakened constitution had withstood the stress by a determined act of will-power. In the spring of 1873, however, a few months after the Hague congress, he suffered serious physical disturbances.

He began to suffer from painful headaches and sleeplessness. At times it was feared that he might endure a stroke. After only a few hours of intellectual work he was forced to rest by attacks of dizziness. At times he was completely unable to work. He

had to consult his doctor frequently, a Dr. Gumpert who lived in Manchester and with whom Marx and Engels had for years been friends. Dr. Kugelmann also sent comprehensive medical advice in letters from Hanover. At the insistence of the doctors, Marx had to reduce his scientific work to a minimum. He found it very difficult to conform, but no matter how urgently he wished to finish his book, *Capital*, the state of his health was so bad that he had no alternative but to obey the doctors' advice.

Numerous holidays at English seaside resorts failed to bring the desired betterment. Some improvement showed itself only when he took a cure at Karlsbad (now Karlovy Vary) in late summer, 1874, accompanied by Eleanor.

They arrived in Karlsbad on August 19. They took rooms at the *Haus Germania*, now called *Kurhaus Marx*. Several days before their arrival, Dr. Kugelmann had also taken up residence in the hotel.

Marx had gone to Karlsbad to be healed, in contrast to the upper ten thousand who often came merely to strut and preen themselves. He and Eleanor, who had also just suffered a severe illness, followed the doctors' orders strictly and were daily at the prescribed cure-wells at 6 in the morning. As often as possible, they took hikes, wandered through the surrounding country and enjoyed the woods and hills. In the evenings, they attended concerts or the theatre. Marx also spent many hours in conversation with Dr. Kugelmann and the other guests.

In a letter to Engels he reported on the strict regulations and added discontentedly : "I am now restricted to profane drink from the pump ; Tussy (Eleanor), on the other hand, daily receives a glass of Pilsner beer, at which I cast jealous and longing looks. The doctor arranged for me by Kugelmann—Oestreicher—was at first somewhat concerned about my stay. On his advice I registered as *Charles* Marx, *privatier*, London, which '*privatier*' resulted in my having to pay double the *fee* for myself and Eleanor to the worthy state treasury, but averted the suspicion that I am the notorious K(arl) M(arx)."[30] He could

not maintain his incognito for long, however. On August 30, the Viennese paper, *Sprudel*, appeared with the thinly veiled denunciation : " The long-term leader of the International, Marx, and the chief of the Russian nihilists, Count Plater, have come to Karlsbad for a cure."[31] The result was that Marx was now also " guarded " in Karlsbad by stoolpigeons.

When he and Eleanor left Karlsbad on September 21, he felt very much better. They visited Dresden and Leipzig and went on to Berlin. Here they visited the friend of Marx's youth, his brother-in-law, Edgar von Westphalen, who had remained true to the ideals of his youth and now lived very modestly as a civil servant. Marx and Eleanor, as very " dangerous " guests, lived at a hotel, probably under an assumed name. Thus the police learned of their coming only on their departure. " To Mohr's delight," Eleanor related with relish, " we learned later that the police came to our hotel—on the third day, exactly one hour after we had left."[32] From Berlin they travelled to Hamburg, where Marx looked up his publisher, Otto Karl Meissner, and met with Ignaz Auer and August Geib, both of whom were leaders of the Eisenach party. Early in October, the travellers were once more in London.

After his cure in Karlsbad Marx felt a gradual improvement in his health. Engels made it possible for him to take the cure again at Karlsbad in 1875 and 1876, and with his wife and daughter, in 1877, at Bad Neuenahr and in the Black Forest.

Marx also utilized these trips for short visits with friends. " Herr *Karl Marx*," the *Frankfurter Zeitung* reported on August 17, 1875, " arrived here at the end of last week from London. His friends were pleasantly surprised by his vigorous appearance and his lively spirits. He is on his way to Karlsbad, where he intends to remain four weeks." In Frankfurt he visited Leopold Sonnemann, the publisher of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, a leading bourgeois democrat and an opponent of the Prussianizing of Germany. From Karlsbad Marx made frequent trips to Prague. It gave him special pleasure, during a short trip to Kreuznach

in September 1876 to show his daughter the various places where he and her mother had spent the first months of their happy marriage.

The healing effects of the Karlsbad waters on Marx were very evident. But he was unable to continue the cure. From 1878 on, the road to Karlsbad was barred to him by Bismarck's emergency laws against the socialist workers' movement.

In the spring of 1875, the Marx family moved to another home again, this time to 41 Maitland Park Road, Haverstock Hill. Here they occupied one of the then typical narrow homes, built high and in rows. In the basement, there were small housekeeping rooms and the kitchen, in which meals were generally taken. The ground floor had a hallway and one or two small living rooms. On the first floor up Marx had his working room. The bedrooms were on the floor above.

The Marx hospitality was already well-known, when short rations still reigned in the home. Now that the family could live with less cares, they took greater pleasure in being able to help others. Workers and workers' leaders met at the Marx home. Old members of the Communist League and veteran fellow-fighters of the International came frequently. In the Marx home they also found that true human happiness could not be separated from struggle for the happiness of all mankind.

Jenny knew, like her husband, how to make their guests' visits an unforgettable experience. Friedrich Lessner, who had fought loyally at Marx's side since the revolutionary days in Cologne and often visited the family, reported : " Marx's house was open to every trustworthy comrade. The pleasant hours I and many others spent in his family circle are unforgettable. The wonderful Frau Marx shone here, a great, unusually beautiful woman, distinguished in appearance, but so very kind and lovably intelligent, so free from all pride and formality, that in her presence one felt as comfortably at home as if with one's mother or sister . . . She was filled with enthusiasm for the cause of the working class. Every success in the struggle against the

bourgeoisie, even the smallest, caused her satisfaction and joy."[33]

An important person in the Marx household was Helene Demuth. " When you write about Mohr, don't forget Lenchen,"[34] Eleanor wrote Wilhelm Liebknecht when he began to draft his reminiscences about her father. Helene Demuth, in Eleanor's words, was " in certain respects the axis around which the house turned."[35] Everyone close to Marx knew the gratitude this selfless woman had won from the family. Even Marx had to submit to her strict rule in the house. He did it naturally, since Lenchen was as unsurpassed in her loyalty and devotion to the family as in her loving care.

Not only representatives of the working class movement frequented Marx's home ; famous scientists and well-known democrats also found a hearty welcome. His home was open to the world, and it was by no means necessary to accept his ideas in order to be received by him. Marx could expound and document his viewpoint in masterly fashion in personal discussion. Whether all his guests agreed with him or not, there was hardly anyone among them who was not deeply impressed by his towering personality after a talk with him.

In the circle of his family and friends, and in informal conversation in general, Marx was a cheerful and witty companion. Some visitors, who had believed they would find a gloomy fanatic or a queer spinner of fantasies, found themselves suddenly confronted by a man who could not only discuss politics or theoretical problems of scientific communism, but also had something wise and vital to say about a work of world literature, a recent development in London's theatre life, or an interesting discovery in the natural sciences.

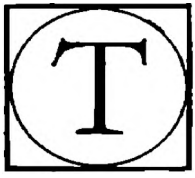
Yet never was Marx in as good a mood or as relaxed as in the company of Friedrich Engels. It was remarkable that although they had known each other for decades, they constantly discovered new and valuable things in one another. They constantly rediscovered the satisfying feeling of maturing together,

of complementing one another, and of the intellectual give and take that is the mark of true friendship.

They were almost daily together now, apart from trips. Marx's daughter Jenny wrote humorously to friends : " Engels . . . works better on Mohr than any quantity of medicine, by taking him on long walks. We see ' The General ' daily and spend many gay evenings together."[36]

Engels was able to take over an appreciable amount of the work that had been a heavy burden for Marx. He also took over the international correspondence more and more in order to give Marx additional time for his economic studies. But one working method remained fixed. No matter which one was asked for advice from comrades in other countries, they always discussed their suggestions and criticisms with one another. The constant consultations with Engels had become indispensable for Marx, and he could never have met the demands imposed on him by the international workers' movement if his " Fred " had not been at his side.

"The Old Man" in London



he joint struggle brought visible successes. Marx lived only to see the opening of the new period marked by the Paris Commune, in which the workers' movement enjoyed a stormy growth in depth. But he could already note that the seeds spread by him and Engels and the International had fallen on fertile soil. His ideas took root in ever more countries. They began to seize the masses and thus became a material force which could no longer be ignored by any power on earth. " Despite all your distaste for popularity, you are nevertheless becoming more and more the ' hero of the hour,' "[37] Wilhelm Liebknecht wrote to Marx in 1871, when Marx's picture was exhibited at the Leipzig Spring Fair, along with portraits of Giuseppe Garibaldi, Victor Hugo, Bebel and Liebknecht himself.

Scrambling for popularity was disgusting to Marx. Flatterers who wanted to make themselves popular among the workers were an abomination to him. He looked with distrust on those whom he put down as " phrasemongers." Whatever viewpoint he took up on questions confronting the workers' movement, it was never on the basis of personal ambition, but always out of a deep sense of responsibility towards the proletariat. His revolutionizing ideas were not simply accidental strokes of genius but the product of hard scientific labour over a period of years and decades. Marx showed that genius is primarily industry ; industry that is unremitting and strictly disciplined. That was eloquently shown by his work on *Capital.* But no matter how very much this work had become a basic need of his life, it was also axiomatic for him that his place was not in the British Museum during the decisive battles in the International Workingmen's Association. He left the General Council of the International and devoted himself once again to his work on *Capital* only when the Bakuninists had been driven out of the International and when the most important pre-conditions for the development of revolutionary mass parties had been created by the decisions of the Hague congress.

Before he could start on revising the first draft of the next volumes of the work, he had to devote most of his energies to the correcting and editing of the new editions of the first volume. The French edition demanded a great deal of his time between 1872 and 1875. This edition appeared serially, which pleased Marx greatly, since it was thereby made more accessible to the workers. The translation provided Marx was painfully exact, but precisely such literalness made it more difficult to understand the book. Marx found himself forced to check every word of the translation, which finally led him, in addition to revising the text, " to simplify some of the explanations, to expand others, to supply supplementary historical or statistical material, to add critical remarks, etc." In an epilogue to the last instalment, he wrote : " Whatever the literary defects of this

French edition may be, it possesses a scientific value independent of the original and should be consulted even by readers familiar with German."[38]

For Germany, Marx had prepared a revised edition in 1872 that appeared in 3,000 copies. Interest in *Capital* mounted steadily. Wilhelm Liebknecht had written Marx in April 1871 : " In the whole of Germany, lectures are being delivered about surplus value and the normal working day, based on your *Capital* ; around the latter, a mass campaign is developing."[39] These and similar reports showed Marx and his loyal comrades-in-arms that he had not worked in vain, and that they had not accepted the hardships of many years without results. The workers were learning to use *Capital* as a weapon in the struggle to free society of exploitation and oppression. For Karl and Jenny, that was the finest recognition.

Marx was constantly being pressed by his friends to complete the next volumes of *Capital* quickly. He also wished nothing better, but new obstacles kept piling up. Either the corrections had to be made for new editions, or his labours for the International took up his time, added to which the rapid deterioration of his health became increasingly critical. But even in the years after 1872, when his health was very poor, he continually returned to his draft of the second and third volumes of *Capital*. He utilized even the smallest improvement in his health for his studies.

The number of branches of knowledge in which he carried on research was as astounding as the materials through which he worked his way. Engels writes about more than two cubic yards of books just about Russian statistics that Marx had evaluated for *Capital*. He studied all the important new publications in the field of finance, agricultural history and agronomy. In addition, he read numerous publications about geology, physiology and mathematical problems. He continued to prepare comprehensive extracts from almost all the books he read, mostly with critical marginal notes and commentaries. At the same time he

pursued his study of Russian and read Russian scientific and creative literature in the original. At Engels' suggestion he even immersed himself in the ancient Frisian (north German) language.

He kept constantly returning to his desire to bring the conclusions presented in the first volume of Capital to the widest possible sections of the working class. When the German workers' leader, Johann Most, in the mid-70's, published extracts from *Capital* for the popular masses, under the title, *Capital and Labour*, Marx helped him with the revision of the second edition. The " help " reached such proportions that Marx actually drafted new formulations for whole sections of the work. A similar situation developed a few years later when the Dutch socialist, Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, brought out a portion of *Capital* under the title, *Kapitaal en Arbeid*.

Just as little as Marx—depite his illnesses and sleepless nights—was unable to give up scientific work, so little was he able to give up participation in political life and struggle. He read the British and foreign press daily. Current politics were for him also a part of scientific work. He at all times carefully studied the events and facts of political life before generalizing them and making decisions.

This scientific working method accounted for the fact that after he left the General Council he was constantly sought out as adviser and dean of the international workers' movement. This position in the international movement, in no way based on organizational connections but on Marx's scientific and political authority, was described by Engels as follows :

" By theoretical and practical achievements Marx has gained for himself such a position that the best people in all the working-class movements throughout the world have full confidence in him. At critical junctures they turn to him for advice and then usually find that his counsel is the best. This position he holds in Germany, in France, in Russia, not to mention the smaller countries. It is therefore not a case of Marx forcing his opinion, and still less his will, on people but of the people coming to

him of themselves. And it is upon this that Marx's peculiar influence, so extremely important for the movement, reposes . . . Marx and in the second place I have adopted the same attitude toward the French as toward the other national movements. We maintain constant contact with them in so far as it is worth our while and there is the opportunity to do so. It would only harm us to try to influence people against their will ; it would destroy the old confidence dating back to the time of the International. We really have had too much experience of revolutionary matters for that . . ."[40]

Did it not speak for Marx's great authority in the international workers' movement when, for example, the leader of the French socialists, Jules Guesde, travelled to London in 1880 to consult with the founder of scientific communism about the future program of the rising revolutionary French workers' party ? Marx enjoyed prestige also among the peoples fighting for their independence. He was regularly invited to the meetings arranged in London for the Polish cause and always raised his voice for a free and independent Poland. He followed the revolutionary movement in Russia with equal sympathy, and maintained close contacts with the Russian revolutionaries, as before. On the tenth anniversary of the Paris Commune, he declared that the revolutionary development in Russia, " even if only after a long and hard struggle, in the end will with certainly lead to the setting up of a Russian Commune."[41] These were prophetic words.

With no workers' movement, however, did Marx have such close connections as with the German. That was not due solely to the fact that after 1871 the centre of the workers' movement shifted from France to Germany. Marx was deeply bound up with the fate of his nation and with the German working class. Throughout his whole life he put the well-being of his people above his personal fortunes. Though driven out of his homeland, he devoted all his talents during the last decade of his life, as before, to supporting the struggle of his people against the anti-national policy of the Junkers and militarists.

Marx followed with close interest the great leap made by capitalism in Germany after 1871. Factories and plants shot up like mushrooms. New railway lines connected the industrial centres with one another and opened up the industrially backward areas of the country for modern trade and traffic. The population of the cities increased rapidly. With the increase in numbers of the proletariat, favourable conditions also developed for the extension of the workers' movement. What Marx and Engels had already said to the German communists and workers on the eve of the 1848 revolution was confirmed : that national unification would benefit not only the bourgeoisie, but also the working class and its revolutionary movement.

But the working class in unified Germany had a most powerful enemy : the militarist *Junker* caste, allied with big capital, which was addicted to the same dreams of conquest. These two classes held the power in their hands and used it ruthlessly against the popular masses. Marx had warned from the beginning that the existence of the Prussian-German military state was incompatible with the vital interests of the German people. If the ruling classes wanted to turn Germany into a haven of reaction and militarism, then the German working class had to fight all the more determinedly for democratic popular rights and for a democratic German republic. This thought ran like a red thread through all the works, letters and discussions in which Marx dealt with the future of Germany in the 1870's and 80's.

He carried on a steady correspondence with the leaders of the Social Democratic Workers' party. One of the most loyal of these, as always, was Wilhelm Liebknecht. When his wife bore him a son in 1871, he named the child Karl in honour of Marx, and Marx became the godfather. Neither the proud father nor the godfather could then divine that the child would one day become one of the boldest and most talented of the men who would continue the work they had begun.

Marx also developed close and friendly relations with the

younger leaders of German Social Democracy. In the joint struggle against Prussian-German militarism, he learned to value their courage and loyalty to principles. He especially respected, among these, August Bebel and Wilhelm Bracke, who worked successfully to apply revolutionary theory to the complicated conditions of the class struggle in Germany. For Liebknecht, Bebel, Bracke and many other pioneers of the German working class, Marx was soon the man they all looked up to in questions of theory and practice. "The Old Man," or "The Two Old Men"—that was how they liked to refer to Marx and Engels as an expression of their love and respect.

Marx paid great attention to the fight for the unity of the working class. In Germany, where Eisenachers and Lassalleans still marched separately, it was expecially necessary to overcome the split in the ranks of the working class. Without the unity of the working class, all the peace-loving and democratic forces could not be gathered round the proletariat, and the class interests of the workers could not be successfully defended. Only a united working class could offer resistance to the *Junkers* and militarists and finally defeat them.

Marx noted with satisfaction that the influence of the Social Democratic Workers' Party was growing quickly among the German workers. That was due above all to the party's courageous stand against militarism. A section of the Lassallean leaders sought in vain to perpetuate the split among the workers. In the General German Workers' Associations, the view increasingly prevailed that the workers had to act in united and closed ranks in order to be victorious.

The leaders of the Social Democratic Workers' Party had often extended a fraternal hand to the Lassallean followers. Marx energetically supported their efforts to achieve joint actions, but at the same time warned against ideological concessions. In three decades of political struggle he had learned from experience that the unity of the working class can only be implemented on a revolutionary basis.

He was repeatedly urged by the leaders of the Social Democratic party to help them in their complicated situation. " Couldn't you or Marx come to Germany during the autumn ?"[42] Liebknecht inquired on July 28, 1874, in a letter to Engels. And Marx, though he still had to conserve his energies, stopped over in Germany on his return trip after a cure at Karlovy Vary.

On September 23, 1874, he arrived in Leipzig and was warmly received by Liebknecht and the Liebknecht family. Unfortunately, he could not meet Bebel, since the latter was still imprisoned for his " insults " to the *Kaiser* and for other " misdemeanours." Marx informed himself about the situation of the working class in Germany and reported on the bad experiences he had had with Lassalle and those who had inherited the latter's mantle. With great emphasis he urged Liebknecht not to make concessions to Lassalleanism under any circumstances. He held that every retreat before opportunism would sooner or later bear bitter fruit for the working class.

Marx also utilized his stay in Leipzig to get to know the areas around the city. His appreciative attitude towards comrades who had shown courage in facing all tests in the service of the party is indicated by the following incident. One day, while he was in Leipzig, a young party editor, Wilhelm Blos, was released from prison. Marx insisted on waiting for him at the prison-gate. " Outside," as Blos told the story, " Liebknecht waited with one of his small sons. And near him stood a pretty young woman on the arm of a big, slim man in the fifties, with a long white beard, but with a very black moustache. He had a rosy face, and one could have taken him for a jovial old Englishman. I recognized him at once, however, from his photo—it was Karl *Marx*. The young lady was his daughter Eleanor, also called Tussy."[43]

Blos was then an ardent disciple of Marx ; later, however, he showed himself to be unworthy of his teacher and turned away from ihm.

Marx stayed in Dresden from September 24 to 27, then re-

turned to London via Berlin and Hamburg, believing that the preparations for the unification of the German workers' movement on the basis of scientific communism lay in the best hands. But he was to be disappointed. German workers' papers did indeed bring reports that representatives of the Eisenach and the Lassallean movements had conferred in February 1875 to prepare a draft program and rules, but the contents of the draft program were not known to him. Then came a letter from Bebel at the end of February. With two and a half years of prison behind him, Bebel asked Marx and Engels for their opinion about the pending unification of the Social Democratic Workers' Party and the General German Workers' Association. It was only after March 7 that they had the opportunity to read the draft program : in a newspaper !

Marx was shocked. The draft program was not a step forward from the Eisenach program of 1869 ; on the contrary, it was a great step backwards. It was not only that the effectiveness of the program was marred by various vulgar-democratic, petty-bourgeois phrases ; more important, Liebknecht and other leaders of the Eisenach group had made unpardonable concessions to Lassallean ideas long since refuted in practice.

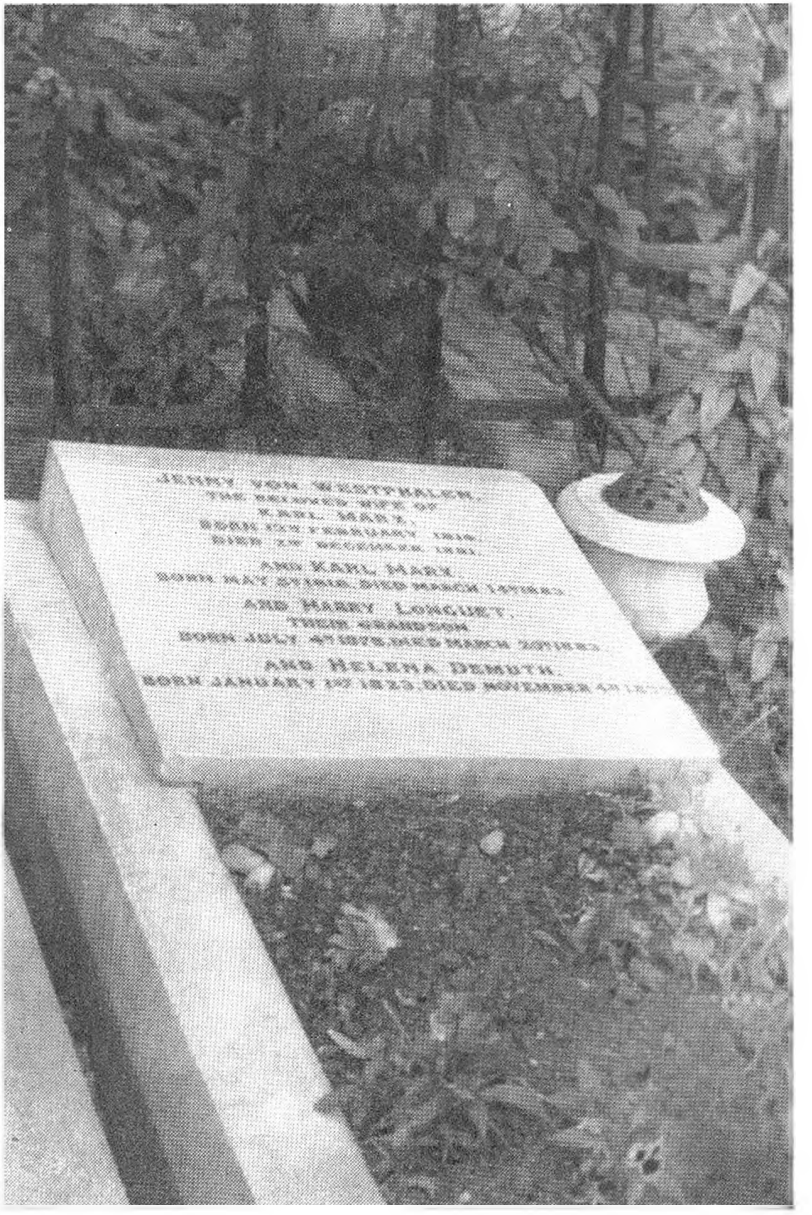
Engels undertook the job of sending Bebel a detailed letter setting forth his and Marx's viewpoint on the unification and its programmatic basis, and explaining they could not give their agreement to the compromise program. The letter had not yet been mailed before a message came from Bracke sounding an alarm and calling for help. He wrote to Engels : " Acceptance of this program is impossible for me, and Bebel is of the same opinion . . . First of all, however, I should very much like to know what you and Marx think about this matter. Your experience is riper and your insight is better than mine."[44] In response to this appeal, Marx worked through the draft program, point by point, in the following weeks and wrote a detailed critique, *Marginal Notes on the Program of the German Worker's Party*. These *Notes*, which later became known as

Critique of the Gotha Program, he sent in the form of a circular letter to Bracke, Liebknecht and other German party leaders at the beginning of May, as a last-minute warning against the catastrophic consequences of such a compromise.

Marx's notes on the program were so rich in new theoretical ideas that his critique itself took on the character of a program with outstanding significance. The *Marginal Notes* became one of the most important documents of Marxism, alongside the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and *Capital.*

Marx's immediate purpose was to show the leaders of the Eisenach party what theoretical conclusions had to be drawn from the Paris Commune for the class struggle in the Prussian-German Reich. The Social Democratic Worker's Party had unreservedly defended, and proclaimed its solidarity with, the dictatorship of the proletariat set up by the Paris Commune. But it was not yet fully aware of all the important lessons for its own strategy and tactics that had emerged from the experiences of the *Communards.*

As an example, the leaders of the Eisenach party still talked as if socialism could be introduced in a democratic republic immediately following the overthrow of the Bismarck regime. This false perspective was also present in the draft program. Marx contradicted this " democratic belief in miracles "[45] and explained to his friends and pupils in the German worker's movement the basic difference between the democratic republic—which was all that was demanded in the draft program—and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He of course completely supported the battle of the Eisenach followers for a democratic German republic. But one had to recognize that the socialism could not be introduced within the framework of an essentially bourgeois republic. " Between capitalist and communist society," Marx wrote in his programmatic letter, " lies the period of the transformation of the one into the other. This is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing else but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.*"[46]



Marx's burial-place at Highgate Cemetary in London

The Marx House at 37a Clerkenwell Green in London E. C. 1 with the Marx Memorial Library. For many decades the House served as a meeting-place of revolutionary English workers. In 1902–3 it was the office of the *Iskra* editorial committee headed by Lenin

V. I. Lenin inaugurating a monument of Marx and Engels in Moscow on November 7, 1918

The Saxon industrial town of Chemnitz which was renamed Karl Marx Stadt on May 10, 1953, has developed into a modern socialist city

The Karl Marx Monument on Sverdlov Square in Moscow

In May 1968 Communists from all over the world gathered in Berlin, the GDR capital, to pay tribute to the significance and vital force of Marx's teachings at an International Scientific Session organized by the Central Committee of the SED to mark the 150th birthday of Karl Marx

Walter Ulbricht receives the certificate on the award of the Karl Marx Order from Wilhelm Pieck, President of the German Democratic Republic, on September 14, 1953

Under the leadership of the party of the working class the GDR is translating the teachings of Marxism and Leninism into reality as was confirmed anew at the VIIth Congress of the SED in April 1967

With this and numerous other examples, Marx wished to help the German workers' leaders overcome their unclear conceptions of the essence of the state. He told them unmistakably that the revolutionary German workers' movement must work for the bourgeois-democratic republic, because without it the proletariat would not be able to arm itself for the final struggle to achieve power itself. The German people could only achieve the democratic republic, however, if it shattered Prussian-German militarism. But the democratic state would also remain a bourgeois state, an exploitative system. The proletariat therefore had to continue the class struggle until the creation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only with its assistance could socialism be constructed. The struggle of the revolutionary workers' movement for democracy was a part of its struggle for socialism. Both were interwoven, but they were not identical. It was dangerous and catastrophic for the working class to entertain illusions that socialism could be brought about without proletarian revolution, without the dictatorship of the proletariat, or even, as Lassalle believed, with the help of the Prussian *Junker* state. Marx massively attacked this "abject belief of the Lassallean sect in the state"[47] because such confusions—as Marx saw—would lead the working class into submission to the exploiting state.

Marx also attacked other Lassallean dogmas in the draft program. He dismissed out of hand the narrow, sectarian approach to the peasants and the petty-bourgeois strata, and warned against underestimating proletarian internationalism. He called upon the party to follow a wise, elastic policy of alliance and to have a firm internationalist position. Both were indispensable in order to bring together all the available forces in the struggle against Prussian militarism.

Marx strongly criticized the attempt of leaders of the Eisenach party to "purchase" the unity of the workers' movement with concessions to bourgeois—that is to say, Lassallean—ideology. At all times an opponent of commerce in principles in

every form, Marx was certain, on the basis of his many years of experience that the working class could overcome the split in its ranks only through unity of action in the struggle. The workers convinced themselves in joint struggle that the split in their ranks at all times favoured only the exploiters and oppressors, but that unity in their ranks multiplied the strength of the working class and other democrats many times. They learned in the common struggle, step by step, that the proletariat, in order to conquer, needed a revolutionary workers' policy, the theoretical basis of which was scientific communism.

The significance of Marx's critique of the draft program went far beyond mere assistance to the German workers' movement during the period of its unification. His description of mankind's road to socialism in the *Marginal Notes* impressively demonstrated his insight into the development of society.

Free of all utopian wishes, Marx showed why the advance to communism would develop in two phases. After the overthrow of bourgeois rule, the proletariat would abolish the exploitation of man by man, but it would not yet be possible to satisfy all the needs of all citizens. The satisfaction of these needs, in this phase of development, would therefore have to be based on the principle of one's work. Only through the constantly more rapid growth of the productive forces and the development of the new socialist man, for whom work was the highest necessity of life, would the pre-conditions for the second phase of communist society be created. In this second phase the ruling principle would be : " From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."[48]

Marx put forward no misty concepts about communism, no useless dreams of a future fool's paradise. In a straightforward manner he described the principles that would determine the economy and the life of people in communism. His statements were based on an exact scientific analysis of the developing tendencies that had already begun to appear in the capitalist social order. But alongside his scientific objectivity, he did not

disdain bold, revolutionary dreams, as long as they were justified by reality. How moving and how confident of the future are the words the aging Marx wrote in April 1881 to his daughter Jenny, on the occasion of the birth of a grandchild : " My 'women' expected that the 'new citizen on earth' would increase 'the better half' portion of the population. I personally prefer 'men' among children who are born at this turning-point in history. They have the most revolutionary period ahead of them that mankind has ever had to survive. It is deplorable now to be so 'old' that one cannot see but only *fore*see."[49]

Marx drew the conclusion from the public discussion about the program that the workers' movement in Germany was more advanced in practice and in theory than the program indicated. The members of the movement pressed the united party to adhere to proletarian internationalism and to give full support to the trade union struggle. But Marx also had to witness how the leaders of the Social Democratic Workers' Party paid no attention to his criticism on a number of very important questions, especially the question of the state, and made concessions to Lassalleanism out of fear of jeopardizing unity. Thus the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany was created at the Gotha unification congress on the basis of a compromise program.

Marx and Engels greeted the ending of the long years of internal struggle within the German workers' movement. But they feared that a unification attained through so many compromises already bore within it the seed of another split in the near future. They soon found, to their surprise, that the opportunistic program was interpreted as revolutionary by the workers as well as by the ruling classes. The party did not fall apart. Marx's fears were not realized.

He was more than right, however, in his prophecy that the compromise program would open the doors wide to opportunistic self-seekers. One year later the prophecy was realized when a private lecturer in Berlin, Eugen Dühring, found an audience in the party for his petty-bourgeois ideas about social-

ism and was even lauded by leading Social Democrats. Marx urged Engels to refute Dühring publicly. Out of the polemic that followed came the famous work, *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*, called *Anti-Dühring* for short, one of the textbooks of scientific communism.

Engels did not restrict himself in *Anti-Dühring* to the refutation of Dühring's unscientific ideas. On the contrary, along with his criticisms he gave a comprehensive exposition of the three mainstreams of Marxism : dialectical und historical materialism, political economy, and the teachings about socialism and communism. Such an all-round presentation had not existed till then. Published in the central organ of the party, and then in book form, *Anti-Dühring* helped to spread the teachings of Marx and Engels in the German workers' movement.

At the same time *Anti-Dühring* was a model—the last—of the scientific collaboration of Marx and Engels. Engels later wrote modestly about the book : " Since by far the greatest part of the conceptions developed here were originated and worked out by Marx, and only the smaller part by me, it was taken for granted among us that my draft should not appear without his knowledge. I read the entire manuscript to him before it went to the printer, and the tenth chapter of the section on economics (from *Critical History*) was written by Marx and had only, unfortunately, to be somewhat shortened by me, for objective reasons. It was always our habit to assist one another in special fields."[50]

This division of labour was continued until the end of Marx's life. Only this collaboration made it possible for the two friends to carry on research in such a wide field of knowledge, alongside their many-sided work in the international workers' movement. Marx was always fascinated with mathematics, as well as economics. He sought to give differential calculus a dialectical foundation in comprehensive mathematical treatises. Marx was firmly convinced that with the development of science, mathematics would play an ever greater role. He even put forward

the view that a science is really developed only when it can employ mathematics for the solution of specific tasks.

He was not less interested in the natural sciences. But it was physically impossible for him to pursue their study systematically. Since Engels agreed that a knowledge of mathematics and of the natural sciences was essential for a dialectical and materialist conception of nature, he helped Marx in the 70's in the latter's intensive study of the natural sciences. While Engels occupied himself more with the theoretical side, Marx occupied himself more with the various branches of their application. He was especially an expert on the history of technology. Just as he had for decades carefully followed all the advances in the application of electrical energy, so he later regularly followed up new discoveries in the field of chemistry.

From the 1850's on he kept returning also to the discoveries and ideas of Charles Darwin. Liebknecht reports that Marx had in 1859 already recognized the pioneering significance of Darwin's major work, *The Origin of Species through Natural Selection*, that is to say, in the year of its publication. But no matter how highly he esteemed Darwin's theory of development, he took critical exception to Darwin's methods of proof, as for example, the " struggle for existence " and " natural selection." He responded with sarcasm to the numerous absurd attempts to carry the idea of " the struggle for existence " into the history of the development of human society.

Even when Marx's ability to work was increasingly diminished by his illnesses, he still remained an insatiable reader. He continued tirelessly to copy out excerpts from the books he read and to amplify his collection of material for the still uncompleted sections of *Capital*. He also studied and critically tested the works of the philosophers Leibniz and Descartes, the natural scientists Schleiden and Du Bois-Reymond, the historians Graetz, Maurer and Hüllmann, the economist Kaufman, and the new scientific publications in Russian, French, English and Spanish.

Along with this work, he received queries and visitors from all over the world. By the end of the 70's, revolutionary workers' parties had already developed in various countries : in Austria in 1874, two years later in Denmark, then in Bohemia in 1878, and one year later in Belgium and Spain. France und Hungary followed in 1880, England in 1881, Italy and Poland in 1882. All these young parties, founded on scientific communism, expected and solicited help from Marx and Engels.

From Denmark, the Socialist leader Louis Pio came to Marx for advice. Leo Frankel, active in the building of the workers' party in Hungary, came for the same purpose. Appeals for aid also came from France, where the workers' movement was slowly awakening again. The German emigrant Franckenberg reported from Brazil about the first steps of a workers' association there. And from German, Russian, American, Dutch and other newspapers came repeated requests for Marx's collaboration.

Daily political developments demanded no less time. At the beginning of 1877, war broke out between Russia and Turkey. Marx worked to prevent czarism from strengthening its reactionary influence on Europe. To that end he published anonymous articles in the bourgeois English press to warn the government against supporting the czar, and supported the German workers' party in its mass protest against extension of the war. Though he fought reactionary czarism determinedly, he hailed the brave Russian revolutionaries, even those who, not yet aware of the power of the working class and the popular masses, resorted to individual terror. He also put forth strenuous efforts to make escape possible for imprisoned revolutionaries, and received those who could elude arrest, like Leo Hartmann, as guests in his home.

On May 12, 1878, Marx received the news that an assassination attempt had been made on the German *Kaiser*. A visitor who was present in Marx's home at the time later reported : " Marx reacted to the report with curses, directed at the ter-

rorists, and immediately declared that . . . only one thing could now be expected : new persecutions of the socialists."[51] This prophesy was quickly fulfilled. Bismarck utilized this act of a weak-minded individual, as well as a second attempt on the life of the *Kaiser* that soon followed, to launch a campaign of terror against the greatly strengthened revolutionary workers' movement. The party and all socialist organizations and publications were banned, meetings were prohibited, hundreds of socialists were driven from their places of residence, and many party members were fired from their jobs. German Social Democracy stood before its most difficult test.

Marx helped, supporting the solidarity collections in various countries. He arranged for the preparation of an illegal central organ, sent valuable suggestions to the party leaders and wrote articles for the press denouncing Bismarck's charlatanry towards the workers' movement. Above all, he used all his authority to help Bebel, Bracke, Liebknecht and other Marxist leaders of the German party carry through a revolutionary tactic against Bismarck's emergency laws, the so-called anti-Socialist law.

Together with Engels, he determinedly opposed sectarian groups which emerged in the party and prattled pseudo-revolutionary phrases about a tactic of individual terror. They were represented in London by the emigrant, Johann Most. Still greater, however, was the danger that threatened the party, forced into illegality, from the petty-bourgeois-minded reformists and opportunists on the right. These had found spokesmen for their view among some of the party members who had emigrated to Zurich and in the Reichstag deputy, Max Kayser. Marx was indignant over the fickleness of these " workers ' representatives " and their intention of submitting to Bismarck and changing revolutionary Social Democracy into a petty-bourgeois reform party. In the autumn of 1879 the situation became critical when the opportunists attempted to take the central organ into their hands.

Marx and Engels took up the cudgels for the heroically fight-

ing socialist workers and helped the party leaders grouped about Bebel, who were determined to resist the opportunists, to carry through a revolutionary strategy and tactic. In a detailed letter that Engels drafted, the so-called circular letter of September 1879 to the leaders of German Social Democracy, Marx and Engels demanded that the future central organ should unequivocally represent the proletarian class aims of the party. They denounced the opportunists, whose aim was not so much to repudiate the idea of proletarian seizure of power openly, but rather to push it into the unattainable future, in order to remain free to " mediate, to compromise, to engage in philanthropy."[52] The origin of such capitulationist views was the fear of the petty-bourgeoisie of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and of the unavoidable sacrifices this struggle demanded. Here Marx and Engels uncovered an essential feature of opportunism in general.

The letter ended with an eloquent appeal to the leaders of the German workers' party to dissociate themselves from the defenders of bourgeois ideology in their ranks. In a workers' party, such " representatives of the petty-bourgeois "[53] were " a corrupting element." The letter added. " If reasons exist for tolerating them for the moment it is our duty *only* to tolerate them, to allow them no influence in the Party leadership and to remain aware that the break with them is only a matter of time . . . But if even the leadership of the Party should fall more or less into the hands of such people, the Party would simply be castrated, and there would be an end of proletarian snap.

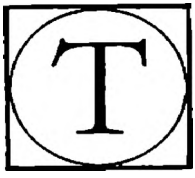
" As for ourselves, in view of our whole past, there is only one road open to us. For almost 40 years we have stressed the class struggle as the immediate driving power of history, and in particular the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat as the great lever of the modern social revolution ; it is, therefore, impossible for us to co-operate with people who wish to expunge this class struggle from the movement. When the International was formed we expressly formulated the battle-cry :

The emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves. We cannot therefore co-operate with people who openly state that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves, and must be freed from above by philanthrophic big bourgeois and petty bourgeois. If the new Party organ adopts a line that corresponds to the views of these gentlemen, that is bourgeois and not proletarian, then nothing remains for us, much though we should regret it, but publicly to declare our opposition to it, and to dissolve the bonds of the solidarity with which we have hitherto represented the German Party abroad. But it is to be hoped that things will not come to *such* a pass."[64]

The situation did not, indeed, develop to that point. The results justified the intervention. Strengthened by the authority of Marx and Engels, and based on the mass of the members, Bebel, Liebknecht, Bracke and their like-minded comrades defeated the attack of the opportunists on the tested revolutionary policy of the party. They took steps to make the illegal party organ, which appeared in Zurich as *Der Sozialdemokrat*, a base of Marxism in the party. Marx was cheered to see that the socialist workers in Germany picked up the gauntlet that the " Iron Chancellor " had thrown at their feet and showed that they knew how to defend themselves boldly and selflessly, with cleverness and initiative. In stubborn battles inside and outside of parliament, in the legal and illegal struggles, they gave truth to the saying :

> True socialism, in its course,
> Is balked by neither ox nor horse.

The Last Years



hrough Bismarck's Emergency Laws against the socialist German workers' movement, the route to the Karlsbad water cure, which had done Marx so much good, was barred to him. From 1878 on his physical suffering grew worse again and hindered him increasingly in his work. But he was not the man to give in to illness and pain. In this sense also he fought to the end.

With the smallest improvement in his health he returned to his work again. Summoning all his strength, he attempted to prepare the second book of *Capital* for the printer. But his efforts were repeatedly thwarted by almost unendurable headaches, torturous coughing, nerve inflammation and attacks of weakness. These were years of quiet but heroic struggle, and the manu-

script of this period, as Engels later said, all too often showed traces of an intense struggle against depressing ill health."[55] Despite his iron will, Marx was no longer able to complete the final draft of the second and third volumes of *Capital* for publication.

His wife's sufferings tortured Marx almost more than his own. After a long uncertainty, it was established that her illness, presumably cancer of the liver, was incurable. Jenny bore the terrible pains with astonishing patience and still retained her cheerfulness. Filled with pain, but not discouraged, she wrote to a doctor : " I clutch at every straw. I want so very much to live a little longer, dear, good doctor. It is remarkable : the more one's story approaches the end, the more one yearns for the ' earthly vale of tears.' "[56]

In the last year of her life, unbowed, she followed with great interest every advance of the workers' movement in the various countries. It was a great joy for her as well as for Karl to be able to receive August Bebel at their home at the end of 1880. Bebel had journeyed to the two " old men " in London to inform them about the public and internal situation in the German party. He consulted with them on the tactics of the party, and got their agreement to write for *Der Sozialdemokrat*. Marx and his wife, as well as Engels, were very much impressed with this wise, energetic leader of the German working class, who was so closely connected with the masses, and they had for so many years known only through correspondence. Marx immediately addressed him with the brotherly " du," and thirty years later Bebel was still moved when he reported on his visit to the Marx home :

" On the single Sunday that we spent in London, we were all invited to Marx's table. I had already become acquainted with Frau Jenny Marx. She was a distinguished woman who immediately won my sympathy, and who understood how to entertain her guests in the most charming, the most lovable manner. On that Sunday I also met the eldest daughter Jenny,

married to Longuet, who had come on a visit with her children. I was very pleasantly surprised to see with what warmth and tenderness Marx, who was at that time denounced everywhere as the worst enemy of mankind, played with his two grandchildren, and what love they had for their grandfather. Apart from Jenny, the eldest daughter, the two younger daughters, Tussy, later the wife of Aveling, and Laura, the wife of Lafargue, were also present. Tussy, with black hair and black eyes, resembled her father, and Laura, light blonde, with dark eyes, more the picture of her mother . . . both pretty and lively."[57]

When Bebel came to say good-bye on the next day, Marx's wife was in bed, struck down again by pain. These where terrible months. Marx did not move from his wife's side. To give her pleasure, he arranged a trip with her to France in July and August 1881, to visit their eldest daughter and their grandchildren. When they returned home Jenny was completely exhausted.

Worn out by anxiety and sleeplessness, Marx contracted a severe case of pneumonia in the autumn of 1881. Only the self-sacrificing care of Eleanor and Lenchen Demuth helped him recover. "Never," Eleanor wrote of the last days Karl and Jenny spent together, "will I forget the morning on which he felt strong enough to go to mother's room. They were young again, together—she a loving girl and he a loving youth who were starting out in life, and not an old man shattered by illness and a dying old woman who are taking leave of each other forever."[58]

There were still a few joys left for Jenny. From Germany came the news that a third edition of *Capital* had become necessary. And in England, for the first time, an article appeared in a leading publication that lauded Marx as a significant scientist and socialist thinker. And the German workers' movement showed, through an imposing electoral success at the end of October, that it was fighting on unbroken despite the Emer-

gency Laws and was becoming increasingly imbued with Marx's teachings.

Jenny died on December 2, 1881. It was the bitterest blow Marx had ever had to endure. He could not even accompany his beloved wife to her resting-place. The doctors, concerned about his weakened condition, did not allow him to take part in the funeral service at Highgate Cemetery. At the grave, Engels spoke about Jenny's love for her husband and her family, her helpfulness to friends and comrades, her loyalty to the struggle of the international proletariat. He closed with these words : " What such a woman, with such a sharp and critical understanding, with such unerring political tact, with such passionate energy, such a great capacity for devotion—what such a woman has contributed to the revolutionary movement has never emerged into the public view, has never been mentioned in the columns of the press. What she did is known only to those who lived with her . . .

" I do not have to speak of her personal traits. Her friends know these, and will never forget them. If there was ever a woman who saw her own happiness in making others happy, then it was this woman."[59]

Karl Marx could not overcome the death of his wife. " The Mohr has also died,"[60] Engels said with truth on the day that Jenny passed away. But his great will to live rose up once more. He was determined to conquer the bothersome illness that doomed him to inactivity. " I will unfortunately have to lose some time with manoeuvres to get back on my feet again,"[61] he wrote discontentedly to his old friend Sorge in the USA.

On the advice of his doctors, Marx sought to revive in the months that followed in areas with a milder climate. First he went to Ventnor on the Isle of Wight. In the spring of 1882 he travelled to Algiers. But the pain of being without Jenny followed him everywhere. He wrote movingly to Engels : " By the by, you know that few people (are) more averse to demonstrative pathos ; still, it would be a lie (not) to confess that my

thoughts (are) to great part absorbed by reminiscences of my wife, . . . the best part of my life."[62]

Yet even in these weeks, though seriously ill, he utilized every opportunity to learn something new. In Algiers, he found in a friend of his son-in-law, Longuet, someone who was able to give him important and detailed information about the refined and gruesome forms of colonial oppression to which the Arabs were subjected. With equal attention, though from a distance, he followed the news about the European workers' movement and continued his exchange of views with Engels, once again, as earlier, in the form of letters.

The Algerian trip brought no improvement in his health ; neither did the stay in the south of France that followed. Only later, when visiting his daughter Jenny in the vicinity of Paris, and then in late summer in Switzerland, did he slowly feel somewhat better. In the meantime the news of the death of Bebel caused him deep agitation. He wrote to Engels : " It is shocking, the greatest misfortune for our party. He was a unique personality within the German (one can say within the ' European ') working class."[63] Fortunately, the news was soon shown to be false.

In October, Marx returned to England, physically stronger. He was already thinking of resuming his work on *Capital* again and helping the party organ, *Der Sozialdemokrat*, with articles. But the improvement in his health was only short-lived. To escape the November fog of London he went again to Ventnor, but the dampness and cold weather of the winter bothered his ailments there also. Worse still, he received another terrible blow : the news of the death of his daughter Jenny. Eleanor, who brought him the tragic news, wrote : " I have had many sad hours in my life, but none so sad as these." She knew what Jenny's death would mean for him. " I felt that I had brought my father the sentence of death. On the long, fearful trip I racked my brains as to how to give him the news. I didn't have to report it to him ; my face betrayed everything. Mohr said at

once : Our Jennychen is dead ! and then he immediately instructed me to go to Paris and help with the children."[64]

On the next day Marx returned to London. A bronchial condition, to which an inflammation of the larynx was soon added, forced him to take to his bed. For weeks he could only take liquid foods. In February, he developed a lung abscess.

In March hopes rose for his recovery. With Lenchen's tender nursing, the main ailments were almost better. But Marx's appearance was deceptive. On the afternoon of March 14, Engels, who visited his friend daily during this period, came to the house. Lenchen met him and said Marx was half asleep. " When we entered the room," he wrote later to Sorge, " he was lying there asleep, but never to wake again. His pulse and breathing had stopped. In those two minutes he had passed away, peacefully and without pain."[65]

Engels added : " Mankind is shorter by a head, and that the greatest head of our time. The movement of the proletariat goes on, but gone is the central point to which Frenchmen, Russians, Americans and Germans spontaneously turned at decisive moments to receive always that clear, indisputable counsel which only genius and consummate knowledge of the situation could give."[66]

The workers of the whole world mourned with Engels. On March 17, 1883, Karl Marx was laid to rest beside his wife in the Highgate Cemetery.

The international workers' movement took farewell of its great leader, and at his grave Wilhelm Liebknecht pledged in the name of the German working class :

" Instead of mourning, we will *act* in the spirit of the great departed. We will strive with all our strength to make a reality, as quickly as possible, of what he taught us and aspired to. In this way will we best celebrate his memory.

" Dear, dead friend ! *We will march along the road that you showed us until the end. We swear it on your grave* !"[67]

Friedrich Engels paid tribute in simple words to the life and work of his friend :

" An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America, and by historical science, in the death of this man. The gap that has been left by the departure of this mighty spirit will soon enough make itself felt.

" Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history : the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc. ; that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of *vice versa*, as had hitherto been the case.

" But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois society that this mode of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem, in trying to solve which all previous investigations, of both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

" Two such discoveries would be enough for one lifetime. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated —and he investigated very many fields, none of them superficially—in every field, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

" Such was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application

perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced quite another kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry, and in historical development in general . . .

" For Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which *he* was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival. His work on the first *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842), the Paris *Vorwärts* (1844), the *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung* (1847), the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848—49), the *New York Tribune* (1852—61) and in addition to these a host of militant pamphlets, work in organizations in Paris, Brussels and London, and finally, crowning all, the formation of the great International Working Men's Association—this was indeed an achievement of which its founder might well have been proud even if he had done nothing else.

" And, consequently, Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his time. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. Bourgeois, whether conservative or ultra-democratic, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were cobweb, ignoring it, answering only when extreme necessity compelled him. And he died beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow workers—from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America—and I make bold to say that though he may have had many opponents he had hardly one personal enemy.

" His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work !"[68]

Postscript

The most important sources for this book consist of the works of Marx and Engels published by Dietz Verlag, Berlin, for *The Institute of Marxism-Leninism* of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party, as well as the first volume of the *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* (History of the German Working Class). The authors have also endeavoured—to the extent possible in a popular scientific biography—to assess and draw upon the entire biographical and historical literature on the life and work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. They have more particularly made use of the reminiscences about Marx and Engels published in Berlin in 1964 under the title, *Mohr und General* ; of the volume, *Karl Marx, a Chronicle of his Life in Dates*, Moscow, 1934 ; and of the Marx biography by Franz Mehring—publications that deal with Marx's entire

life. The authors acknowledge themselves also to be indebted to the works devoted to Marx and Engels by Horst Bartel, Gerhard Becker, Hans Bochinski, Auguste Cornu, Rolf Dlubek, Luise Dornemann, Ernst Engelberg, Herwig Foerder, Georg Mende, Walter Schmidt and many others ; the source materials published by Bert Andréas ; the study by Heinz Monaz, *Karl Marx and Trier* ; and in special measure the achievements of Soviet Marx-Engels research, especially the work of I. A. Bakh, E. P. Kandel, T. I. Oiserman and E. A. Stepanova, to name only a few.

Edith Nagl and Rudi Stahl collaborated on the illustrations and the chronicle.

Chronicle

1818	May 5	Karl Marx born in Trier, Brückengasse 664 (Brückenstrasse 10 today), as son of the lawyer Heinrich Marx and his wife Henriette, born Pressburg (Presborck)
1820	Nov. 28	Friedrich Engels born in Barmen as son of the cotton manufacturer Friedrich Engels and his wife Elisabeth, born van Haar
1830	July 27–29	July revolution in France.
	October	Marx enters Friedrich Wilhelm " Gymnasium " in Trier.
1835	Sept. 24	Marx graduates from Trier Gymnasium and receives leaving certificate.
	Oct. 15	Marx begins study of law at Bonn University legal faculty.
1836		In Paris, German artisans found the *League of the Just*, the first German workers' organization.

	mid-October	Marx moves to Berlin, matriculates in Berlin University legal faculty on Oct. 22.
1838	May 10	Marx's father dies in Trier.
1839	early 1839 to March, 1841	"The Difference Between the Democritean and the Epicurean Philosophy"
1840	June 7	Accession to the throne of Friedrich Wilhelm IV in Prussia.
1841	March 30	Marx ends his studies at the Berlin University and returns to Trier.
	April 15	Marx receives his doctor's diploma at the Jena University philosophical faculty.
	early July	Marx moves to Bonn.
1842	April	Marx begins to work on the *Rheinische Zeitung*.
	October	Marx moves to Cologne and on Oct. 15 becomes editor-in-chief of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.
	November	Marx meets Engels for first time when the latter visits the *Rheinische Zeitung* while travelling to England.
1843	March 17	Marx leaves editorship of *Rheinische Zeitung*.
	June 19	Marx marries Jenny von Westphalen.
	end Oct.	Marx moves to Paris and issues *German-French Yearbook*.
	end Dec.	Marx becomes acquainted with Heinrich Heine.
1844	February	The first *German-French Yearbook* appears in Paris.
	May 1	Marx's daughter Jenny born.
	June 4–6	Uprising of Silesian weavers.
	August	Marx begins collaboration with the German-language *Vorwärts*, published in Paris.
	Aug. 28	Marx meets Engels when the latter spends several days in Paris on the way back to Germany. Beginning of their friendship and collaboration.
1845	Feb. 3	Marx expelled from Paris, moves to Brussels. The family follows in mid-February.
	end Feb.	The first joint work of Marx and Engels appears in Frankfurt/Main, *The Holy Family, or Critique of the Critical Critique*.
	mid-April	Engels moves from Barmen to Brussels to join Marx.

	July/Aug.	Marx and Engels undertake a six weeks tour of investigation of London and Manchester.
	Sept. 26	Marx's daughter Laura born.
1846		Marx and Engels set up a Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels.
	April	Marx and Engels become acquainted with Wilhelm Wolff.
	May	Marx and Engels complete the *German Ideology*. Publication in Germany is thwarted by the censorship regulations.
	Aug. 15	Engels moves to Paris at the request of the Communist Correspondence Committee.
1847		Marx's son Edgar born (sometime in Dec. 1846 or January 1847).
	January	Marx and Engels join the League of the Just.
	April/May	Hunger demonstrations and revolts break out in many German areas following a bad harvest.
	June	First congress of the Communist League in London.
	July	Marx's work, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, a reply to Proudhon's *The Philosophy of Poverty*, appears in French in Brussels.
	Aug. 5	Under Marx's leadership, the Communist League is set up in Brussels.
	mid-Sept. until Feb. 1848	Marx and Engels work on the *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung*.
	Nov. 15	Marx elected vice-president of the Brussels Democratic Society.
	Nov. 29	Marx and Engels take part in the second congress of the Communist League in London. They are asked to draft the League's program.
1848	Jan. 31	Engels expelled from Paris, arrives in Brussels.
	Feb. 22	Outbreak of revolution in France.
	Feb. 24 (appx.)	*Communist Manifesto*, the program of the Communist League, appears in London.
	March 4	Marx expelled from Belgium, leaves Brussels. Arrives in Paris with his family on March 5.
	March 11	The central bureau of the Communist League set up in Paris under Marx's leadership.
	March 13	Outbreak of revolution in Vienna.
	March 18	Fighting on barricades in Berlin.

	March 21	Engels arrives in Paris.
	March 21–29	Marx and Engels write the *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany.*
	April 6 (appx.)	Marx and Engels leave Paris and arrive in Cologne on April 11 after a stay in Mainz.
	May 18	Gathering of the German National Assembly in the Paulskirche in Frankfurt/Main.
	May 22	Gathering of the Prussian Constituent Assembly in Berlin.
	May 31	The first number of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appears dated June 1. Marx is editor-in-chief, Engels an editor.
	June 23–26	Uprising of Paris proletariat.
	Aug./Sept.	Marx takes a three-week trip to Vienna and Berlin to strengthen the contacts with the democratic and workers' organizations there and to arrange financial support for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*
	Sept.	Engels must leave Cologne under threat of arrest. Remains several days in Barmen, journeys to Brussels, and then through France to Switzerland.
	Oct. 6–31	Revolutionary uprising of the Viennese people. Victory of the counter-revolution.
	Nov. 8	Beginning of the counter-revolutionary putsch in Prussia.
1849	mid-Jan.	Engels returns to Cologne.
	Feb. 7–8	Court trial against Marx as editor-in-chief of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and as member of the Rhine district Committee of Democrats.
	March 28	The National Assembly in Frankfurt/Main adopts a German constitution.
	April/May	Marx journeys for three weeks to northwest Germany and Westphalia, endeavouring to raise money for the continued publication of the Neue *Rheinische Zeitung.* Returns on May 9.
	early May	Beginning of the armed uprising in Dresden, the Palatinate, in Baden and in the Prussian Rhine to defend the Reich constitution against the counter-revolution.
	May 19	Last number of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appears.

		Marx and Engels travel to southern Germany via Frankfurt.
	about June 3	Marx goes to Paris on assignment from the Democratic Central Committee. On July 7 his family follows. Engels fights as adjutant in the ranks of the Baden people's army against the much larger Prussian forces.
	Aug. 26	Marx expelled from Paris, arrives in London. On Sept. 17 he is followed by his family.
	Aug./Sept.	The Central Bureau of the Communist League is rebuilt in London under leadership of Marx.
	Nov. 5	Marx's second son Guido born.
	Nov. 10 (apprx.)	Engels arrives in London.
1850	March 6	The first issue of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung, a Political-Economic Review*, edited by Marx appears. It ceases to appear on Nov. 29.
	end March	Marx and Engels write *Address of the Central Bureau to the League of March 1850.*
	mid-May	Marx meets Wilhelm Liebknecht, after latter's expulsion from Switzerland.
	early June	Marx and Engels draft the *Address of the Central Bureau to the League of June 1850.*
	July (appx.)	Marx begins the systematic study of political economy and its history.
	mid-Nov.	Engels moves to Manchester and goes to work in the firm of Ermen and Engels.
	Nov. 19	Marx's son Guido dies.
1851	March 28	Marx's daughter Franziska born.
	Autumn 1851 till Spring 1862	Marx and Engels write for the *New York Daily Tribune.*
1852	April 14	Marx's daughter Franziska dies.
	May 19 (apprx.)	Marx's work, *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, appears in New York.
	Oct. 4/ Nov. 12	Court trial of arrested members of the Communist League in Cologne.
	Nov. 17	At Marx's suggestion, the London Communist League dissolves itself.
1853	January	Marx's *Disclosures About the Communist Trial in Cologne* appear in Basle. Almost the entire edition is seized by the police. A second edition appears as brochure in Boston, USA, around April 24.

	Oct. 4/to March 30 1856	Russian-Turkish war (Crimean war).
1854	Dec. to Oct. 1855	Marx writes for the *Neue Oder Zeitung*.
1855	Jan. 16	Marx's daughter Eleanor born.
	April 6	Marx's son Edgar dies.
1857		World economic crisis.
1859	May to August	Marx and Engels write for the London newspaper, *Das Volk*. At the beginning of July Marx becomes editor.
	April 29–Nov. 10	Italian-Austrian-French war in upper Italy.
	June 11	Marx's work, *Critique of Political Economy*, first book, appears in Berlin.
1860	Dec. 1	Marx's polemic, *Herr Vogt*, appears in London.
1861	Feb.–April	Marx visits his uncle in Holland, journeys to Berlin, sees Lassalle there, returns to London via Elberfeld, Cologne, Trier, Aachen and Holland.
	April 1861–April 1865	Civil war in USA.
	Oct. 20 until end 1862	Marx writes for the Vienna *Presse*.
1862	About July	Wilhelm Liebknecht moves from London to Berlin.
	Aug. 28–Sept. 7 (apprx.)	Marx travels to Holland, Cologne, Trier and back to London.
	Sept. 24	Bismarck becomes Prussian Prime Minister.
1863	Jan. 22–April 1864	Uprising in Kingdom of Poland against czarist rule. At the request of the Communist Workers' Educational Association of London, Marx prepares a proclamation in support of the Polish uprising, working on it in October–November.
	May 23	Founding of the General German Workers' Association in Leipzig. Ferdinand Lassalle named president.
	Nov. 30	Marx's mother dies in Trier.
	Dec. 7–Feb. 19, 1864	Marx travels to Trier, Frankfurt, Holland, where he remains until Feb. 19.
1864	Feb. 1–Aug. 1	Prussian and Austrian war against Denmark.
	May 9	Wilhelm Wolff dies in Manchester.

	Sept. 28	Founding meeting of the International Workingmen's Association at St. Martin's Hall in London. Marx is elected to the provisional committee of the Association.
	Nov. 24 (appx.)	The *Inaugural Address* and the *Provisional Rules* of the International Workingmen's Association, prepared by Marx, appear as a brochure in London.
	end of 1864 until Feb. 1865	Marx and Engels write for the newspaper, *Social-Demokrat*.
1866	June 16 until July 26	War between Prussia and Austria.
	Sept. 3–8	Congress of the International Workingmen's Association in Geneva. Marx writes the instructions for the delegates of the Provisional General Council.
1867	April 10 until May 19	Marx travels to Hamburg and delivers the first volume of *Capital* to his publisher, Meissner. Visits Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover April 17–May 15.
	Sept. 2–8	Congress of the International Workingmen's Association in Lausanne.
	Sept. 14	The first volume of Marx's major work, *Capital*, appears.
	Autumn	Marx organizes campaign to support Irish emancipation movement among the English workers.
1868	April 2	Marx's daughter Laura marries Paul Lafargue.
	Sept. 5–7	Conference of the German Workers' Associations in Nuremberg. At the initiative of August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, the conference decides to join the International Workingmen's Association.
	Sept. 6–13	Congress of the International Workingmen's Association.
1869	Aug. 7–9	Founding congress of the Social Democratic Workers' Party in Eisenach.
	Sept. 6–11	Congress of the International Workingmen's Association in Basle.
	About Sept. 10 until Oct. 11	Marx travels with his daughter Jenny to Aachen, Mainz, Siegburg and Hanover, where he visits with Ludwig Kugelmann and meets Wilhelm Bracke.

	Oct. 2	The first issue of the organ of the Social Democratic Workers' Party, *Der Volksstaat*, appears in Leipzig. Marx and Engels become contributors.
1870	July 19	France officially declares war on the North German states.
	July 19–23	Marx writes the *First Address of the General Council on the German-French War.*
	Sept. 1–2	Battle at Sedan. Defeat of the French troops.
	Sept. 9	The General Council of the International approves *The Second Address on the German-French War* as drafted by Marx.
	About Sept. 20	Engels moves to London.
1871	Jan. 18	Proclamation of the German Kaiser Reich in Versailles.
	March 18 until May 28	The Paris Commune.
	May 30	Marx's Address, *The Civil War in France*, unanimously endorsed by the General Council of the International.
	Sept. 17–23	Conference of the International in London under the leadership of Marx and Engels.
1872	September	Marx and Engels at The Hague as delegates to the congress of the International.
	Sept. 6	The delegates to the Hague Congress decide to transfer the seat of the General Council to New York.
	Oct. 10	Marx's daughter Jenny marries Charles Longuet.
1874	Aug. 19 until about Oct. 3	Marx takes cure with his daughter Eleanor at Karlsbad. On the return trip he visits Leipzig, Berlin and Hamburg.
1875	May 5	Marx sends his *Marginal Notes on the Program of the German Workers' Party* to Wilhelm Bracke, to be passed on to Ignaz Auer, August Bebel, August Geib and Wilhelm Liebknecht.
	May 22–27	Unity congress in Gotha. Founding of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany.
	August 15 until Sept. 11	Marx takes a cure at Karlsbad.
1876	Aug. 16 until Sept. 15	Marx and his daughter Eleanor take cure at Karlsbad.

1877	From beginning until about Aug. 8	Marx works on the tenth chapter of the second section of Engels' book, *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science.*
	April 24 until March 3, 1878	Russian-Turkish war.
	Aug. 8–Sept. 27	Marx, his wife and his daughter Eleanor take cure at Neuenahr and in the Black Forest.
1878	Oct. 19	The German Reichstag adopts the "Law Against the Dangerous Activities of Social Democracy" (the anti-Socialist Law).
1879	Sept. 17–18	Engels sends a circular letter drafted by him and Marx to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke, and others.
	Sept. 28	The first issue of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, central organ of the illegal fighting German Social Democracy, appears in Zurich. Marx and Engels contribute to the paper.
1880	early May	Consultations with Engels, Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue on the program of the French Workers' Party. Marx formulates the theoretical introduction to the program.
	Aug. 20–23	Underground congress of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany in Wyden, Switzerland.
	Dec. 9–16 (apprx.)	Bebel visits Marx and Engels for the first time in London.
1881	July 26 until Aug. 16	Marx and his wife visit their daughter Jenny in Argenteuil (in the vicinity of Paris).
	Dec. 2	Marx's wife Jenny dies in London.
1882	Feb. 9 until early Oct.	Marx undertakes a journey to Algiers, the south of France and Switzerland, visiting his daughters Jenny and Laura.
1883	Jan. 11	Marx's daughter Jenny dies in Paris.
	March 14	Marx dies in London.
	March 17	Marx is buried at Highgate Cemetery in London.

Indexes

Works Cited

In the following list of sources the following abbreviations are used for convenience :

MEW signifies Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Berlin, 1956.

MEGA signifies Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe*, Frankfurt/Main (Berlin), 1927.

IML, ZPA signifies Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der SED, Zentrales Parteiarchiv (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Central Party Archives).

SW signifies Karl Marx/Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1968.

SC signifies Karl Marx/Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965.

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